

"I just wanted to say a word while we are here in the family that I am very proud of the work that has been done down in the Virgin Islands because it shows what can be done with a little help from Washington and a great deal of cooperation down here towards improving the conditions of a great many thousands of human beings. Of course, we never expect the Virgin Islands to be a tremendous factor in trade but we do hope that they may be self-sustained."

The President then spoke of raising social and economic standards and thereby improving health conditions.

The President concluded his remarks with:

"The experiment that we are working out in the Virgin Islands is being watched by Washington with a great deal of interest. We have a unit in the Virgin Islands where we can actually see the results of their work. I am very proud of what you have done. I hope to come here again before I leave Washington and see some more of these fine results. I am glad to see you all."

THE PRESIDENT AT ST. CROIX, V.I.

JULY 8, 1934.

Upon arrival at the dock at Frederiksted, the President was welcomed by the Honorable Arnold M. Golden, Chairman of the Colonial Council, St. Croix, who said in part:

"As chairman of the Colonial Counsel of St. Croix, I am privileged to greet you this morning on behalf of the people of St. Croix. It is indeed a great honor that you have paid this little island. It is the first time in its history that a ruler of a nation has visited this island. Mr. President, we welcome you to St. Croix."

The President thanked the Honorable Mr. Golden.

En route Christiansted, the Party stopped at a homestead house where the President directed his son, Franklin, to hang a frame containing the words, "July 8, 1934, Homestead House visited by President Roosevelt," on the outside of the front wall.

Upon arrival at Christiansted, the President was again welcomed by the Honorable Mr. Golden. At this time the Honorable Mr. Golden read the written address of welcome of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, which follows:

"Mr. President:

"We realize that wherever you go, your presence calls

for demonstrative greetings and expressions of heartiest welcome. As the chosen representatives of the people of St. Croix we want you to realize that, proportionately, we acknowledge ourselves as second to none in the sincerity of our greetings and in the heartiness of our welcome. Furthermore, Mr. President, we trust that this good-will visit of yours will be the occasion of striking proofs of reciprocal feelings on the part of all in St. Croix.

"Irrespective of party affiliations, despite natural feelings of conscious pride that loyal democracy must experience today, we, who have been chosen to convey to you the welcome of St. Croix, assure you that that welcome comes from the heart of all St. Croix. The life-blood of that heart is fed by the richness of gratitude. That gratitude is engendered by the constant, far-reaching, strikingly practical interest you are taking in these populated dots in the Caribbean - the Virgin Islands, and in particular, our own St. Croix. It has been said that the sheep which are nearer the shepherd are always more cared and better fed, but we can truthfully say, that we who are on the very outskirts of the fold realize the magnanimity of your care, and partake of the choice viands with which you endeavor to feed the entire national flock. Should your efforts to safeguard our rights and further our interests fail of their objective, the account, we

know, will have to be rendered to you, but not by you.

"Triteness of expression does not impugn sincerity of expression, hence, Mr. President, we say to you that we are uniquely honored by your visit to us today. Never before in the history of St. Croix has the ruler of a nation graced the Island with his presence. We are particularly grateful that it is you, the President of the people - the people's President, who should first honour us.

"The brevity of your stay does not permit an intensive study of insular conditions, political or otherwise, nor does the spirit that prompts our words of welcome make any reference thereto. We sincerely trust, Mr. President, that your own observations, guided by the same Christian Charity and practical interest that has thus far directed your efforts to rehabilitate St. Croix, will make of your visit a boon that will forever enshrine you in the hearts of all.

"Mr. President, we welcome you to St. Croix and pray God for your safe return to the Nation's Capital.

"Respectfully offered by the Colonial Counsel of St. Croix Virgin Islands of the United States of America."

The President replied as follows:

"My friends in St. Croix - I am very glad to come here

and I am very grateful to you for this splendid reception and very hearty welcome, and I want you to remember that today, more than ever before, the people of the Continental United States remember and realize that you, also, are a part of the American family."

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
to Crew of USS HOUSTON
Saturday, July 21, 1934

Good morning, men:

This is the first Captain's inspection that I have taken part in since war days, 1918. I am reminded of that last inspection that I was present at on the repair ship in Queenstown Harbor which was looking after all of our destroyers doing convoy and escort duties. I made the inspection with the First Lord of the British Admiralty, Admiral Bailey, Admiral Sims, and Captain Pringle.

The point of the story is that while in those days the good Irish people were not as strongly pro-German as they were anti-British, very strongly anti-British, and therefore somewhat anti-American.

The people on the destroyers had a pretty rough time of it. Queenstown didn't offer much opportunity for liberty but they tried the experiment of sending about two hundred of our people to Cork. They went up to Cork all right and the young ladies invariably preferred the American boys and, of course, the young gentlemen of Cork didn't like that, with the result that they staged a raid on our seamen. There being about a thousand civilians, they drove our men back to

the train and they came back with a good many broken heads. Liberty from that time was suspended until the Mayor of Cork gave assurance that the town people would behave better the next time.

However, when I went on this inspection, as I remember on the U.S.S. MELVILLE, a machine ship, we came to one of the machine bays about amidships, and Captain Pringle looked over in a corner and found a large canvas covering something and turned to a chief petty officer, a very red-headed man by the name of Flanigan, and said, "What's under that?" Flanigan saluted and said, "I'll look, sir." He went over and lifted up the canvas and there was the finest assortment of brass knuckles and pieces of lead pipe that you ever saw. Captain Pringle said to Flanigan, "What's that for?" Flanigan with a grin said: "Captain, sir, that's for the next liberty trip to Cork, damn these Irish."

There were lots of episodes like that during the war. People on the smaller vessels and doing convoy duty had a pretty rough time of it. They came through all right.

There is also the historic story of the young man on the converted yacht operating out of Brest where the hours required them to be underway practically all the time. I got over in the summer of '18 on a destroyer and sent for him. I

said to him: "What are going to do when the war is over?" He replied: "I have got it all figured out; I am going to take a pair of oars, put them on my shoulder and start walking inland, and I am going to walk inland until somebody stops me and says, 'Say, fellow, what are those things you are carrying on your shoulder?', and I am going to settle down there and live for life."

You have given me a very happy cruise and made it possible for me to do a lot of catching up with both official and personal work that I have been waiting a long time to carry out. I am delighted with the ship and the officers and men of the U.S.S. HOUSTON. It is a fine ship.

As far as the Navy as a whole goes, I am very proud of it. I have felt myself a part of it for so many years. We are improving the Navy. We got pretty far behind but, as you know, our Navy building program is larger today than it has been at any time since the close of the war.

It is going to take three or four years more to bring the service up to treaty parity but we are going ahead with that object in view.

I am glad to say both Congress and the country understand what we are doing in building up the Navy and about its use. The Navy is not only the first line of defense but

it is the most important line of defense and upon this particular cruise of ours we have very nearly covered three-fourths of the first line of defense. Starting up on the northeast coast, swinging down to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, then to the Canal, out to Hawaii, and back to the coast, we are covering nearly all of this first line of defense.

We can be very certain we are going to keep the Navy up to the fullest amount its size is allowed to have by a treaty with other nations.

The efficiency of the Navy is, of course, the most important thing in the world. No matter what size it may be, a navy that is only 80% efficient will be beaten easily by the navy that is 100% efficient.

I am tremendously pleased to know very definitely the United States Navy is absolutely in the pink of condition. That it is ready at the drop of the hat for its task. The crew of this ship like the crew on most ships represents a cross-section of the United States, a mighty fine cross-section. The old sectionalism that we have had in our country is gone completely. The crew on all the other large ships is very distinctively representative of the United States.

I want to tell you again how much real pleasure I am getting out of this cruise. I am glad that I have had you as my shipmates and I hope that we will have another cruise some day. Many thanks.

**PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S REMARKS AT THE
DEDICATION OF MOANA PARK, HONOLULU**

July 27, 1934.

I am very, very glad to take part in the dedication of this park and I know that it will be of great service and a great pleasure to the people of Honolulu for many, many generations to come.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S RADIO ADDRESS

AT HONOLULU, T. H.

July 28, 1934.

Governor Poindexter, my friends and fellow Americans of the Territory of Hawaii:

I leave you today with reluctance for the friendly spirit and the generous reception given me everywhere by the people of the Islands of the Territory make me greatly wish that my visit could be prolonged.

I leave also with pride in Hawaii -- pride in your patriotism and in your accomplishments. The problems you are solving are the problems of the whole nation, and your administration in Washington will not forget that you are in very truth an integral part of the nation.

In a fine old prayer for our country are found these words: "Fashion into one happy people those brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues." That prayer is being answered in the Territory of Hawaii. You have a fine historic tradition in the ancient people of the Islands and I am glad that this is so well maintained. You have built on it -- built on it wisely -- and today men and women and children from many lands are united in loyalty to and understanding of the high purposes of America.

You are doing much to improve the standards of living of the average of your citizenry. This is as it

should be and I hope that you will put forth every effort to make still further progress.

There are indeed many parts of the mainland where economic and educational levels do not come up to those which I find here.

May I compliment you also on the excellent appearance of neatness and cleanliness in the homes which I have seen in all parts of the Islands -- they deserve emulation in every part of the nation.

And on leaving, I want to say a word of congratulation on the efficiency and fine spirit of the Army and Navy Forces of which I am Commander in Chief. They constitute an integral part of our National Defense -- and I stress the word, "Defense." They must ever be considered an instrument of continuing peace, for our nation's policy seeks peace and does not look to imperialistic aims.

And so, my friends, I leave you my gratitude for all the kindnesses you have shown me -- I carry with me the hope that I shall have the opportunity to return.

My friends, I shall ever remember these days -- days that are all too short -- your flowers, your scenery, your hospitality, but above all the knowledge that America can well be proud of the Territory of Hawaii -- And so I say to you: "Aloha from the bottom of my heart."

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

Bonneville, Oregon

August 3, 1934

Governor Meier, my friends of Oregon and Washington: There is an old saying that "seeing is believing" and that is why I came here today.

Until today I have never been familiar with more than the lower course of the Columbia River, but as far back as 1920 I had the privilege of coming out through these states -- through all of the great Northwest and I conceived at that time the very firm belief that this wonderful valley of the Columbia was one of the greatest assets, not alone of the Northwest but of the United States of America. Back there, fourteen years ago, I determined that if I ever had the rank or the opportunity to do something for the development of this great River Basin and for the territory that surrounds it, I would do my best to put this great project through.

Yes, "seeing is believing." Over a year ago, when we first established the principle of commencing great public works projects in every part of the Union, I became firmly convinced that the Federal Government ought immediately to undertake the construction of the Bonneville Dam and the Grand Coulee Dam, and so we got started. General Martin reminded me, as we were driving out here, that it

was only on the 26th day of September last year -- ten months ago only -- that the definite allocation of money for the Bonneville project was made by me at the White House, and I think we have gone a long way in less than a year.

It has been my conception, my dream, that while most of us are alive we would see great sea-going vessels come up the Columbia River as far as the Dalles and it was only this morning that the Secretary of War told me of a new survey that is being made by the Army Engineers. From that survey I hope it will be found to be, in the part of wisdom, to enlarge these locks so that ocean-going ships can pass up as far as the Dalles. And, when we get that done and moving, I hope that we can also make navigation possible from the Dalles up, so we may have barge transportation into the wheat country.

I am reminded a good deal of another river, with a problem somewhat similar -- a river on which I was born and brought up -- the Hudson. It was only a comparatively few years ago -- within the past ten years -- that through the action of the Federal Government the channel of the Hudson River was so deepened that Albany, 140 miles from the sea, was made a seaport. You have a very similar case on the Columbia. In the same way in the State of New York, above Albany, you meet the rapids and the falls of the Mohawk. It was over a hundred years ago that Dewitt Clinton,

a Governor of New York, built what was called "Clinton's Ditch," the Erie Canal, and carried through the possibility of navigation by barge from the sea to the Great Lakes. And so I believe that the day will come on the Columbia when we will not only extend sea-going navigation far back into the continent but, at the end of sea navigation, we will be able to extend barge transportation still further back far north into the State of Washington and far into the State of Idaho. That is a dream my friends, but not an idle dream, and today we have evidence of what man can do to improve the conditions of mankind.

There is another reason for the expenditure of money in very large amounts on the Columbia -- in fact there are a good many reasons. While we are improving navigation we are creating power, more power, and I always believe in the old saying of "more power to you." I don't believe that you can have enough power for a long time to come and the power we will develop here is going to be power which for all time is going to be controlled by the government.

Two years ago, when I was in Portland, I laid down the principle of the need of government yardsticks so that the people of this country will know whether they are paying the proper price for electricity of all kinds. The Government can create yardsticks. At that time one had already been started on the Colorado River. Since then two other yardsticks have been undertaken, one in the

Tennessee Valley, one here on the Columbia River, and the fourth, the St. Lawrence, is going to be started.

In this northwestern section of our land, we still have the opening of opportunity for a vastly increased population. There are many sections of the country, as you know, where conditions are crowded. There are many sections of the country where land has run out or has been put to the wrong kind of use. America is growing. There are many people who want to go to a section of the country where they will have a better chance for themselves and their children -- and there are a great many people who have children and need room for growing families. As a Roosevelt I am thinking about growing families.

Out here you have not just space, you have space that can be used by human beings -- a wonderful land -- a land of opportunity -- a land already peopled by Americans who know whither America is bound -- people who are thinking about advantages for mankind, good education and above all the chance for security; the chance to lead our own lives without wondering what is going to happen to us tomorrow; security for old age, security against the ills and the accidents that come to people and, above all, security to earn your own living.

Today I have seen a picture I knew before only in blueprint form. So far as topography goes, it conforms to the blueprints and the chief engineer of this project tells me that nothing stands in the way of its being com-

pleted on time, on schedule and according to plan.

Within three years, I hope the Bonneville Dam will be an actual fact and, as a fact, it will from then on militate very greatly to the benefit of the lives, not only of the people of Oregon and Washington but of the whole United States.

I know you good people are heart and soul behind this project and I think most of you are heart and soul behind what your Government is trying to do to help the people of the United States. I wish I might stay here and survey everything in detail but, as you know, I have been on a long voyage and the sailor man doesn't stay put very long in one place.

I have been so much interested during this wonderful drive here that I have delayed things all along the road. That is why I am an hour late. Now I have to go to the train.

I want to tell you from the bottom of my heart what a privilege it is to come here and see this great work at first hand. May it go on with God's blessing and with your blessings.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM REAR PLATFORM OF TRAIN AT SPOKANE, WASHINGTON
August 4, 1934, 6 o'clock P.M.

I am glad to see you all again.

The last time I came through here it was at three o'clock in the morning during the campaign in 1932. There was a dear old lady who came down to the station at that time in the morning and said to my boy Jimmie, who came out on the platform, "If Mr. Roosevelt cannot get out of bed to see me, I will vote for Hoover."
(Cheers -- applause)

(The President waved 'good-bye' as the train pulled out of the station.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Cartagena, Colombia
July 10, 1934

Your Excellency:

From the days of my youth when I was a small boy, it has been my dream to visit "La Ciudad Heroica" -- this noble Cartagena of the New World which signifies so much to all Americans in every part of our Continent.

Today that dream has come true -- and more than true, for I little thought that it would be my happy privilege, as the representative of the United States, to be the guest of the President and of the people of Colombia. I am indeed grateful to you for the warmth of your reception and for the close spirit of friendship which you have shown me, and I am especially happy to be received by President Herrera, who has left behind such a multitude of warm friends which he made during all those years when he represented Colombia in Washington.

We, the citizens of all the American Republics, are, I think, at the threshold of a new era.

It is a new era because of the new spirit of understanding that is best expressed in the phrase, "Let us each and every one of us live and let live." In all of our

American Nations, there is growing insistence on the peaceful solution of international problems, and Colombia and Peru have rendered an inestimable service to humanity in the settlement of their Letitia problem, and the United States joins with Colombia in every effort they have made to end the unfortunate war in the Chaco, a war that is the only discordant note that remains in all the length and breadth of North and Central and South America.

We are entering a new era in accepting the plan that no one of our nations must hereafter exploit a neighbor nation at the expense of that neighbor. We shall all of us find methods for the development of the commerce and resources of the Americas, but we shall do this in the spirit of fair play and of justice.

Finally I hope, my friends, that this new era is bringing a communion of understanding of the life and culture and ideals of the separate nations that make up the Americas. It is right that each country should have its own cultural development, but every one of us can learn greatly from each other.

That is true of literature and of the arts and it is true also of government.

We in the United States knew of the universities

in the lands to the South of us; many of these were great institutions of learning long before white men founded Virginia or landed at Plymouth Rock. We know of your poets and of your painters, and of your writers.

But it must be equally understood that the process of development in sociological and humanitarian lines is proceeding at a splendid pace in every American republic. All of us are seeking to improve the condition of the average citizen and we give to social legislation an interest and an incentive which augurs well for succeeding generations.

And so, Your Excellency, it is in this spirit of seeking mutual understanding and mutual helpfulness that a President of the United States sets foot for the first time on the sacred soil of the Republic of Colombia. May your nation greatly prosper and may both our countries from this day forth come to know and come to honor each other as good neighbors, and as preservers of human liberty.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Panama, R. P.
Wednesday, July 11, 1934

Your Excellency:

I am grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the people of Panama, for the cordial welcome you gave me. It is a great pleasure to me to return to Panama after an absence of 22 years and to see the great progress which has been made and is being made in the wellbeing of the Republic.

But my interest in Panama may be said to be of an historic character as well, because it was my own great-uncle, Mr. William H. Aspinwall, who was instrumental in starting the Panama Railroad in 1848 and who in the face of many natural difficulties carried it to a successful conclusion in 1855.

It was this railway which began to restore to the Isthmus its former proud position of the crossroads of the Americas. When the work started there was no city where Colon now stands and Panama City had but 10,000 inhabitants. Through the succeeding years, you have become a nation and an important nerve center of the commerce of the world.

The Canal serves all nations in the needs of peaceful commerce. The United States is therefore a Trustee for all the world in its peaceful maintenance. In that Trusteeship,

we have always had and I am sure always will have the complete cooperation of the Republic of Panama. The questions of administration and of methods of cooperation which arise and will continue to arise in many new forms in the future as conditions change and new problems confront us, will I am certain be solved in the same spirit of justice which we are now conferring.

It was to me most delightful -- and most helpful -- to have President Arias visit Washington last Winter. I appreciate the problems of the Republic of Panama, but I am happy to think that Panama and the United States have both definitely entered into the period of recovery from difficult days.

Both nations are seeking a greater progress and a greater social justice. For you, Mr. President, and for Panama, I wish every happiness and every good.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

Grand Coulee

August 4, 1934

Senator Dill, Governor Martin, my friends:

I go back a long, long way in my interest in the Grand Coulee. Some people in this country think that this is a new project but I remember very well that in the campaign of 1920, when I was out through the Northwest, it was a very live subject at that time.

My old friend, Senator Dill, being of an historical turn of mind, went back into the dark ages of 14 years ago and dug up a speech I made in Spokane. He brought it to me on the train and I am going to read it to you -- not the speech but about two sentences of it for the historical record -- to show that people have been thinking about the Columbia River for a great many years.

In 1920, I said this: "Coming through today on the train" (I was coming through from Montana and Idaho) "has made me think pretty deeply. When you cross the mountain states and that portion of the coast states that lie well back from the ocean, you are impressed by those great stretches of physical territory, just land, territory now practically unused but destined some day to contain the homes of thousands and hundreds of thousands of citizens

like us, a territory to be developed by the nation and for the nation. As we were coming down the river today" (this was 14 years ago) "I could not help thinking, as everyone does, of all that water running down unchecked to the sea."

Well, there is the text of what we are trying to do in this country today. I went on and said:

"It is not a problem of the State of Washington; it is not a problem of the State of Idaho; it is a problem that touches all the other states in the Union." It is a problem, as I said then, that interests us way back in old New York State. We have made beginnings -- scratching the soil -- and I like to think that they are only beginnings; that even in our lifetime we are going to see with our own eyes these problems taken up on a vastly greater scale.

It took 14 years for that prophecy to come true, but it is on its way and most of us who are here today are going to be alive when this dam is finished and the Bonneville and a lot of other dams are finished. As I said to the Secretary of the Interior when we were on the other side of the river a few minutes ago, we are in the process of making the American people "dam minded."

People are going to understand some of the implications of building dams in the higher stretches of rivers all over the country. The Chief Engineer here was telling me a few minutes ago that the eventual completion of this

dam is going to mean the doubling of potential power of every site on the Columbia River between here and the mouth of the Snake, and that is a lot of power.

It is going to mean from the Snake down to sea level, adding 50% to potential power they have today. That means a lot. It is going to affect not only the Columbia River Basin, but the whole of the mountain states and Pacific Coast territory. We are going to see, I believe, with our own eyes, electricity and power made so cheap that they will become a standard article of use, not merely for agriculture and manufacturing but for every home within the reach of an electric transmission line.

The experience in those sections of the world that have cheap power proves very conclusively that the cheaper the power, the more it is used in the homes and on the farms and in small businesses. And that makes me believe that this low dam which we are undertaking at the present time is going to justify its existence before it is completed by our being able to contract for the sale of practically all of the power that it will develop. If we are justified in that belief, and hope, then we come down to Chapter II, which is the building of the high dam.

I want to take this opportunity, my friends, of telling you something about the amount of money the Federal Government is spending in the three states of

the Coast. I should have liked personally to have been able to say to the Secretary of the Interior to proceed from the very beginning by setting aside, allocating, the money for the complete project here. But the fact is that out of the total sum made available to the Administration by the Congress, we have allocated in these states of the Coast a much larger proportion of that fund than the population of the three states justifies. I am talking to you frankly -- it has meant that by allocating a larger portion of the three billion dollar fund to the Coast than a mere figure of population would justify, we have had to take some money from other states and give them less than they would have got normally on a population basis. Many other states have got less than what might be called their normal quota. Why did we do it? We did it, in my judgment, with perfect propriety and with the knowledge that those states that didn't get quite as much as the Coast got would understand and approve it. We did it because out here in the Mountain States and in the Coast States you have unlimited natural resources; you have vast acreage, capable of supporting a much larger population than you now have. We believe that by proceeding with these great projects it will not only develop the well-being of the Far West and the Coast, but it will also give an opportunity to many individuals and many families back in the older settled parts of the

Nation to come out here and distribute the burdens which fall on them more heavily than they fall now on the West.

You have great opportunities and you are doing nobly in grasping them. A great many years ago, 75 or 80, a great editor in the City of New York said, "Go west, young man." Horace Greeley is supposed to be out-of-date today, but there is a great opportunity for people in the East, in the South and some of the over-crowded parts of the Middle West. You here show them the opportunity of still going west.

I am going to try to come back here when the dam is finished and I know that this country is going to be filled with homes not only of a great many people of this state, but by a great many families from other states of the Union -- men and women and children who will be making an honest livelihood and doing their best successfully to live up to the American standard of living and the American standard of citizenship.

So I leave here today with the feeling that this work is well undertaken; that we are going ahead with a useful project and that we are going to see it through for the benefit of our country.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS TRAIN
BONNERS FERRY, IDAHO
August 4, 1934, 9.15 P.M.

I always seem to have hard luck in going through northern Idaho. In 1932, when I came to the northern part of the State, I got held up by a train wreck and passed through at night.

I am very, very sorry I cannot see this section by daylight. Some time I am going to plan a trip that will take me through northern Idaho in the daytime.

Congressman White has been telling me of the very useful work that Federal Emergency Relief has accomplished here in the fire control problem.

I think you will find in every part of the country that the money we have spent, not only on relief but also on public works and also on the Civilian Conservation program, has not only been wisely administered but has done a vast amount of human good.

There are a lot of people here from the Eastern States learning about the Northwest. They are boys who had never been out of the streets of Eastern cities in their lives and who had a chance, through the CCC, of

coming out into the Northwest and not only doing a lot of good in the forests of these States but also doing at least an equivalent amount of good to themselves. The result is that the people of the country are coming to know something about these States, more than they ever did before, and are learning to appreciate the resources of the Northwest. That is why I am very confident of the fine future of this section of the country.

It is fine to see you tonight and I am surely going to come through by daylight the next time. (Cheers-- applause)

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT AT TWO MEDICINE CHALET
GLACIER NATIONAL PARK

August 5, 1934

I have been back on the soil of the continental United States for three days after most interesting visits to our fellow Americans in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone and the Territory of Hawaii. I return with the conviction that their problems are essentially similar to those of us who live on the mainland and, furthermore, that they are enthusiastically doing their part to improve their conditions of life and thereby the conditions of life of all Americans.

On Friday and Saturday I had the opportunity of seeing the actual construction work under way in the first two national projects for the development of the Columbia River Basin. At Bonneville, Oregon, a great dam, 140 miles inland, at the last place where the river leaps down over rapids to sea level, will provide not only a large development of cheap power but also will enable vessels to proceed another seventy or eighty miles into the interior of the country.

At Grand Coulee, in north central Washington, an even greater dam will regulate the flow of the Columbia River, developing power and, in the future, will open up a

large tract of parched land for the benefit of this and future generations. Many families in the days to come, I am confident, will thank us of this generation for providing small farms on which they will at least be able to make an honest and honorable livelihood.

Today, for the first time in my life, I have seen Glacier Park. Perhaps I can best express to you my thrill and delight by saying that I wish every American, old and young, could have been with me today. The great mountains, the glaciers, the lakes and the trees make me long to stay here for all the rest of the summer.

Comparisons are generally objectionable and yet it is not unkind to say from the standpoint of scenery alone that if many and indeed most of our American national parks were to be set down anywhere on the continent of Europe thousands of Americans would journey all the way across the ocean in order to see their beauties.

There is nothing so American as our national parks. The scenery and wild life are native and the fundamental idea behind the parks is native. It is, in brief, that the country belongs to the people; that what it is and what it is in the process of making is for the enrichment of the lives of all of us. Thus the parks stand as the outward symbol of this great human principle.

It was on a famous night, sixty-four years ago, that a group of men who had been exploring the Yellowstone

country gathered about a campfire to discuss what could be done with that wonderland of beauty. It is said that one of the party, a lawyer from the State of Montana, Cornelius Hedges, advanced the idea that the region might be preserved for all time as a national park for the benefit of all the people of the Nation. As a result of that suggestion, Yellowstone National Park was established in 1872 by Act of Congress as a "pleasuring ground" for the people. I like that phrase because, in the years that have followed, our great series of parks in every part of the Union have become indeed a "pleasuring ground" for millions of Americans.

My old friend, Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior in the Wilson Administration, well described the policies governing the national park administration when he said:

"The policy to which the Service will adhere is based on three broad principles: First, that the national parks must be maintained in absolutely unimpaired form for the use of future generations as well as those of our own time; second, that they are set apart for the use, observation, health and pleasure of the people; and, third, that the national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks."

The present National Park Service stands as an example of efficient and far-seeing governmental administra-

tion and to its former duties I added last year by transferring from other departments many other parks, battle-field sites, memorials and national monuments. This concentration of responsibility has thus made it possible to embark on a permanent park policy as a great recreational and educational project -- one which no other country in the world has ever undertaken in such a broad way for protection of its natural and historic treasures and for the enjoyment of them by vast numbers of people.

Today I have seen some of the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps boys in this northwestern country. Of the three hundred thousand young men in these Camps, 75,000 are at work in our national parks. Here, under trained leadership, we are helping these men to help themselves and their families and at the same time we are making the parks more available and more useful for the average citizen. Hundreds of miles of firebreaks have been built, fire hazards have been reduced on great tracts of timberland, thousands of miles of roadside have been cleared, 2500 miles of trails have been constructed and 10,000 acres have been reforested. Other tens of thousands of acres have been treated for tree disease and soil erosion. This is but another example of our efforts to build, not for today alone but for tomorrow as well.

We should remember that the development of our national park system over a period of many years has not been a simple bed of roses. As is the case in the long fight for the preservation of national forests and water power and mineral deposits and other national possessions, it has been a long and fierce fight against many private interests which were entrenched in political and economic power. So, too, it has been a constant struggle to protect the public interest once cleared from private exploitation at the hands of the selfish few.

It took a bitter struggle to teach the country at large that our national resources are not inexhaustible and that, when public domain is stolen, a two-fold injury is done, for it is a theft of the treasure of the present and at the same time bars the road of opportunity to the future.

We have won the greater part of the fight to obtain and to retain these great public park properties for the benefit of the public. We are at the threshold of even more important a battle to save our resources of agriculture and industry against the selfishness of individuals.

The Secretary of the Interior in 1933 announced that this year of 1934 was to be emphasized as "National Parks Year." I am glad to say that there has been a magnificent response and that the number visiting our national parks has shown a splendid increase. But I decided today

that every year ought to be "National Parks Year". That is why, with all the earnestness at my command, I express to you the hope that each and every one of you who can possibly find the means and opportunity for so doing will visit our national parks and use them as they are intended to be used. They are not for the rich alone. Camping is free, the sanitation is excellent. You will find them in every part of the Union. You will find glorious scenery of every character; you will find every climate; you will perform the double function of enjoying much and learning much.

We are definitely in an era of building, the best kind of building -- the building of great public projects for the benefit of the public and with the definite objective of building human happiness.

I believe, too, that we are building a better comprehension of our national needs. People understand, as never before, the splendid public purpose that underlies the development of great power sites, the improving of navigation, the prevention of floods and of the erosion of our agricultural fields, the prevention of forest fires, the diversification of farming and the distribution of industry. We know, more and more, that the East has a stake in the West and the West has a stake in the East, that the Nation must and shall be considered as a whole and not as an aggregation of disjointed groups.

May we come better to know every part of
our great heritage in the days to come.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT FROM THE
REAR PLATFORM OF HIS SPECIAL TRAIN

Havre, Montana, August 6, 1934

I wish I had a loudspeaker on the train, but there is none. This is not a political campaign.

I have never been through this section of northern Montana and the reason I chose this particular route was because I wanted to learn something at first hand both by talking to the people, and seeing conditions with my own eyes. As you know, we are trying to do a good many new things, but I believe the country understands what we are trying to do and is supporting our effort to make a better living for the average citizen.

I notice that here we are on the outskirts, the edge, of what we call the secondary drought area. I am glad it has not been any worse here than it actually has.

We have to provide in the days to come for the elimination of the causes of not only drought but of the conditions that come from drought. It is going to take a long time to do it, but, as I have said before, I think we are on our way and that you good people understand it and are supporting it.

I wish I had time to stop off here and spend a little longer time, but I have been away from Washington now for a little over five weeks -- it was actually five weeks yesterday -- having covered the Virgin Islands,

Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone and Hawaii. I have got to get back to the Nation's capital.

I hope when I come back through here next that things are going to be better than they are today. Many thanks.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

FORT PECK, MONTANA

August 6, 1934

My friends: I cannot very well just say my friends of Montana, because in this group there are men and women of a great many states of the Union. That is one of the characteristics of this particular job. It is national in scope and it was undertaken with the idea that it would benefit the whole Nation. And it is going to do it.

It is a very delightful thing to form a mind picture of something from prints, drawings and figures and then, a year later, come out and find that the project is just about twice as big and twice as fine as you thought it was.

I am tremendously impressed by the magnitude of this job. About three weeks ago the Secretary of War, who is with me today, met me down in the Canal Zone, Panama. We saw together one of the wonders of the world, the Gatun Dam. I had seen it many years ago when it was under construction. I didn't believe then that anybody would build a dam bigger than the Gatun. I assure you it is a pigmy compared with Ft. Peck.

Not only is this going to be, I am told, the largest earthwork dam in the world, but I believe also that

in its construction we are going to do a very great amount of good for the elimination of unemployment. That means unemployment today and unemployment in the future. Insofar as unemployment today goes, this type of dam probably uses more manpower, more hours of work in its completion than concrete dams or other types.

It is also true, of course, that a very large proportion of the materials going into this dam come from other parts of the Union, some of them from Pittsburgh and New York and Birmingham, Alabama, and as far west as the Pacific Coast. There is the other feature -- affording employment in the days to come.

I refer to the fact that, when this dam is completed, it is going to be an important factor in the navigation of the Missouri River. It is going to help to maintain a nine-foot channel. This channel will connect with the Mississippi. It will enable the wheat growers and farmers of the Northwest to get cheaper transportation rates from the middle of the country to the south and the east and to foreign countries.

Then, of course, there are other features -- the power that will be generated; the effect on flood control and soil erosion. One of the things that makes me happiest is that downstream from this point they are going to be able to place under irrigation some 84,000 acres of land -- land which today is not particularly fit for human habitation.

and which, when we get water on it, will be the means of support and honest livelihood for thousands of American families.

I understand that some people, seeking to misrepresent facts, have suggested that we are going out through the Northwest and saying to the families on marginal lands -- families having a good deal of trouble making both ends meet -- "You have got to leave your homes tomorrow morning and get out."

Of course no person who thinks twice will believe silly tales of that kind.

It is a fact, however, and you and I know it, that there are many families in many states who are trying to make both ends meet without much success. It has been shown over a period of years that the land these families are using for agriculture ought not, for the best economic purposes, be used for agriculture.

Now, if those families want to go on farming that land and go deeper in the red every year, I take it it is their affair.

On the other hand, your Government believes in giving them a chance to go to better places -- a voluntary chance. That is why this very broad national planning is seeking to provide farms where they won't have crop failures, where they won't be faced with starvation and where they may be able, I hope, to make not only both ends meet from

the point of view of living, but, also that they may come to own their farms free and clear of any debt.

Now people talk about the Ft. Peck dam as the fulfillment of a dream. It is only a small percentage of the whole dream, covering all of the important watersheds of the Nation. One of those watersheds is what we call the watershed of the Missouri River, not only the main stem of the Missouri, but countless tributaries that run into it and countless other tributaries that run into those tributaries. Before American men and women get through with this job, we are going to make every ounce and every gallon of water that falls from the Heaven and the hills count before it makes its way down to the Gulf of Mexico.

It is because we have undertaken this gigantic task that will take us more than a generation to complete; because we have undertaken it now, and the people of the United States understand the objective of the idea, that I feel very certain we are going to carry it through to a successful completion.

That is one reason, my friends, the chief reason, that I am glad to be out in these parts today to see the work in its inception; to see the fine spirit of all the people who are engaged in the work. That is why, also, that I am very confident it is going to be carried through to the success and glory of the Nation.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

DEVILS LAKE, NORTH DAKOTA

August 7, 1934

Senator Nye, my friends of North Dakota: I cannot honestly say that my heart is happy today, because I have seen with my own eyes some of the things that I have been reading and hearing about, for a year and more. The reason I came here was that I wanted to see something at first hand of a problem that has perplexed me and perplexed many other people ever since I have been in office. It is a problem. I would not try to fool you by saying we know the solution of it. We don't.

I believe in being frank, and what I can tell you from the bottom of my heart, truthfully, is this: If it is possible for us to solve the problem, we are going to do it.

I saw some signs along the road that said: "You gave us beer, now give us water."

Well, the beer part was easy.

That was something that could be controlled very definitely by human agency. It was a question of what the people of this country wanted and when they made it clear they wanted beer back again, they got it. But, when you come to this water problem through here, you are up against two things. In the first place you are up against the forces of nature and, secondly, you are up against the fact

that man, in his present stage of development cannot definitely control those forces.

I think it was more than a year ago that the delegation of this State, in the Senate and the House, first talked to me about the problem of this watershed in northern North Dakota. I have been studying it ever since.

It is all very well to say, "Let's have a dam across the Missouri River." I would love to do it, but when a great many engineers tell me they haven't found a safe place for that dam, there isn't a man or woman in the Devils Lake area that would ask me to build a dam that might go out and drown many thousand people.

In other words, I have a responsibility. I cannot build a dam unless I have the best engineering assurance that it is not only the right thing to do, but the safe thing to do.

And, the result is, my friends, that today there is more of what you might call government talent -- experts from different departments in the Government service -- fine people with good knowledge and training -- and they are getting the views of civilians and State employees and trying to find a solution of this problem.

Soon after I get back to Washington many of the studies being made this summer by engineering and agricultural officials will be completed. I expect to confer

within the next few weeks with all of the experts. I will give an opportunity to people who don't agree with their conclusions to come and be heard. As you know, I believe in action.

On the 4th of March, 1933, we had a parallel. It was not just one section of one state or a few sections in a few states. It was the whole of the United States. The United States was up against it. I asked the people of the United States at that time to have courage and faith. They did.

Today, out here, I do not ask you to have courage and faith. You have it. You have demonstrated that through a good many years. I am asking, however, that you keep up that courage and, especially, keep up the faith.

If it is possible for Government to improve conditions in this State, Government will do it.

I assure you the interests of these communities are very close to my heart. I am not going to forget the day I have spent with you.

We hope that Nature is going to open the Heavens. When I came out on the platform this morning and saw a rather dark cloud, I said to myself, "Maybe it is going to rain." Well, it didn't. All I can say is, I hope to goodness it is going to rain, good and plenty.

My friends, I want to tell you that I am glad I came here. I want to tell you that I am not going to let up until I can give my best service to solving the problems of North Dakota.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS TRAIN
FARGO, NORTH DAKOTA
August 7, 1934, 4.30 P.M.

I cannot very well make a speech because I haven't any loudspeaker on the train and the reason for that is that this is not a political trip. As you know, this trip has been made primarily with the idea of getting first-hand information about a great many sections of the country.

I have had a most interesting month seeing territories and possessions of the United States and coming back across the northern part of the country.

I am very grateful to all of you who came out to say, "How do you do," and I wish I could stay here a great deal longer. It is fine to see you all. (Cheers and applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS TRAIN

WILLMAR, MINNESOTA
August 7, 1934, 8.45 P.M.

My friends, you know I haven't got any loudspeaker on this train because I am not on a political campaign trip.
(Laughter)

I have come out through the Northwest, all the way from the coast, with the hope of learning more at first-hand about some very difficult conditions all through this part of the country. I always like to see things with my own eyes instead of just studying blueprints. I have learned a great deal.

I have been very grateful for the wonderful receptions I have had but, from what I have seen, I am even more determined than I have been at any time in the past that the Government of your Nation is going to do all it possibly can to improve living conditions and social conditions and economic conditions for the benefit of the average man and woman and child of this country.

There are some things that neither you nor I can control; you cannot control Mother Nature. I had hoped today, out at Devils Lake, we were going to have a good, old-fashioned rainstorm but we haven't had it yet. I wasn't as lucky as I was in Puerto Rico. They have had six weeks of drought down there; they were

all going to churches and praying for rain -- they had been doing it for weeks. By the grace of God, the day I landed, the heavens opened up and it rained all day.

I am glad to be back in Minnesota after an absence of two years. You have a fine State. I believe from the bottom of my heart that, regardless of party politics, you are behind our efforts to improve the conditions of the United States.

It is good to see you all and I wish I could stay here longer and see things at first-hand. (Cheers and applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

MADE FROM HIS AUTOMOBILE

LAKE CITY, MINNESOTA

August 8, 1934

My friends, I am glad, after a trip of many weeks, to return to the Father of Waters.

For many years I have been hearing about the development of the Upper Mississippi. Two years ago, in the Spring of 1932, I had a talk with a number of the leaders of the State of Minnesota and I began then to learn of the possibilities of this Upper Valley.

I am glad that in the short space of time, the past year and a half, we have been able to go ahead with the deepening of the Upper Mississippi, with this waterway, and I am glad also that we have been able to bring to this community some assistance in providing for this project which I know is going to be of splendid service to the people of Lake City and this vicinity. That is why I am very, very happy to take part in this dedication. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

WAHASHA, MINNESOTA

August 8, 1934

I just want to say that I am glad I am here and I am sorry I cannot stay longer. I have always been tremendously interested in this particular Mississippi Valley work, and I am glad to see that it is getting on so well.

Many thanks.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

ROCHESTER, MINNESOTA

August 8, 1934

I hope that the people of Rochester will not feel limited in their pride of possession when the Nation which I have the honor to represent claims the right to call Dr. Will and Dr. Charles by the good word "neighbor." You are beloved at home and abroad and a world deeply in your debt gives you inadequate return in external honors and distinctions. But your true distinction is in the simple fact that you have put men's sense of brotherhood and interdependence into a new setting and have given it a new meaning.

For fifty years you have given tireless, skillful and unselfish service here in this state and city. These fifty years, the span of your medical practice, have covered probably the most remarkable period in the history of science. You have seen practically all of modern medicine and surgery come into being. The rise of research, dating back to the days when you began your practice, has revolutionized the diagnosis, prevention and treatment of disease. The development of the branches of this science has revolutionized not only the science of medicine, but the entire field of effort that we sometimes call public welfare. You have seen surgical technique become one of the finest of all the arts of man. You have seen the development of the

science of public health, which has brought the gospel of health to the school and clinic. You have seen the growth of hospitals, the creation of foundations for medical research, and a revolution in the teaching of medicine. You have seen isolated clinics come to be part of great universities, an association resulting in the enrichment of both.

But despite the progress that you have seen and that you have helped to accomplish, the restless spirit of science prompts you to see new visions of achievement. As you have pointed out so often in your predictions of what humanity may expect from medical science in the future, progress is only at its beginning. In the further development of the curative art, in the discovery of new means for the prevention of disease, in the creation of methods by which all of the people may be made aware of the knowledge of hygiene and public health developed in the laboratory clinic, your vision offers promise of a greater nation and a happier people.

You have helped to give to the medical profession a unique place in the community and the nation. By reason of his special opportunities, the physician has the occasion to perform a service in his community far beyond the bounds of his own professional duty. His infinitely complex relationships with the people of the community enable him to lead them in standards of ethical right which may profoundly

affect human conduct in general. For this reason, the science of medicine comes to concern itself with many things beside the healing of the sick. It has been broadly interpreted as a major factor in the science or human welfare. The problems of disease and the circumstances related to it are to the science of modern medicine only the sequel of a long train of social cause and effect. Medicine has taught us how important it is to look beyond the result to the cause, not only of human sickness, but of those social disorders out of which individual difficulties necessarily arise.

Those of us who are concerned with the problems of government and of economics are under special obligation to modern medicine in two very important respects. In the first place, it has taught us that with patience and application and skill and courage it is possible for human beings to control and improve conditions under which they live. It has taught us how science may be made the servant of a richer, more complete common life. And it has taught us more than that, because from it we have learned lessons in the ethics of human relationships -- how devotion to the public good, unselfish service, never-ending consideration of human needs -- are in themselves conquering forces.

Democracy looks to the day when these virtues will be required and expected of those who serve the public officially and unofficially. Modern medicine has set an

exalted example. It has shown the way for us all.

You whom we honor today have rendered the highest form of patriotic service during the battles of the World War, but, even more than that, you deserve the Nation's thanks for the national service that you have rendered throughout your lives.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
SPARTA, WISCONSIN
August 8, 1934

I am sorry that we have no loudspeaker on the end of the train, but this is not a political trip.

I have been coming across the Continent, as you know, with the object of seeing some of the conditions in the States at first hand. Today I have had the privilege of seeing, for the second time, a portion of the work that is going on to make the Mississippi River navigable from St. Paul and Minneapolis down to the Gulf of Mexico. It has been my ambition for a long time to put the interior of our great Continent into touch with the commerce of the world by water, and I hope to live to see the day, not long distant, when the Mississippi Valley will be able to take its products in vessels from the top of the Mississippi and from far up the Missouri and far up the Ohio and its other tributaries, to the Gulf.

I hope also to live to see the day when the great Middle West and Northwest will be able to send its products down the St. Lawrence River into the ocean. (Applause)

I am glad to get back into Wisconsin and I wish it were daylight so that I could see you. I hope sometime

soon to come out here in the daytime to see more of these conditions at first hand.

I feel, on the whole, that we are making definite progress and I believe that the country is still full of the kind of courage and faith that will maintain and increase that progress in the coming year. (Applause)

Thank you very much. (Cheers -- Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN
Thursday, August 9, 1934

Governor Schmedeman, Mr. Mayor, my friends:

This is an inspiration to be here today. This is a wonderful setting on the shores of the Bay and I am glad to take part in this commemoration of the landing in Green Bay of the man who can truly be called the first white pioneer of (Wisconsin) this part of the United States.

Over all the years, as your distinguished Representative in Congress has suggested, the purposes of the men and women who established civilization in Wisconsin and in the Northwest were the same as those that stimulated the earlier settlers of the Atlantic Seaboard. Men everywhere throughout Europe -- your ancestors and mine -- had suffered from the imperfect and often unjust governments of their home land, and they were driven by deep desire to find not alone security, but also enlarged opportunity for themselves and their children. It is true that the new population flowing into our new lands (of opportunity) was a mixed population, differing often in language, in external customs and in habits of thought. But in one thing they were alike -- they shared a deep purpose to rid themselves

forever of the jealousies, the prejudices, the intrigues and the violence, whether internal or external, that disturbed their lives (abroad) on the other side of the ocean.

Yes, they sought a life that was less fettered by the exploitations (that) of selfish men set up in governments that (are) were not free. They sought a wider opportunity for the average man. Having achieved (the) that initial adventure of migrating into (migration to) new homes, they moved forward to the further adventure of establishing forms of government and methods of operating these forms of government that might assure them the things they sought. They believed that men, out of their intelligence and their self-discipline, could create and use forms of government that would not enslave the human spirit, but free it and nourish it throughout the generation. They did not fear government, because they knew that government in the new world was their own.

I do not need to tell you that here in Wisconsin, they built (here in Wisconsin) a state destined for extraordinary achievements. They set up institutions to enforce law and order, to care for the unfortunate, to promote the arts of industry and agriculture. They built

a university and school system as enlightened as any that the world affords. They set up against all selfish private interests the organized authority of the people themselves through the state. They transformed utilities into public servants instead of private means of exploitation.

(Applause)

People know also that the average man in Wisconsin waged a long and bitter fight for his rights. Here, and in the Nation as a whole, in the Nation at large, this battle has been two-fold.

(He has had to fight) It has been a fight against nature. From the time that the settlers started to clear the land until now, (he has been) they have been compelled to assert the power of (his) their brains and courage over the blind powers of the wind and the sun and the soil. But they have (he) paid no heed to the reactionaries who would tell them (him) that mankind must stand impotent before the forces of nature. Year after year, as science progressed and (his) mastery of the mysteries of the physical universe increased, (he) man has been turning nature, once his hard master, into useful servitude.

That is why, on this trip across the northern part of (our) this Continent, I have been so moved by the dis-

tressing effects of a widespread drought and at the same time so strengthened in my belief that science and cooperation can do much from now on to undo the (many) mistakes that men have made in the past and to aid the good forces of nature and the good impulses of men instead of fighting against them. (Applause)

Yes, we are but carrying forward the fundamentals behind the pioneering spirit of the fathers when we apply the pioneering methods to the better use of vast land and water resources -- what God has given us to use as trustees not only for ourselves but for future generations.

But man (is) has been fighting also against those forces which disregard human cooperation and human rights in seeking that kind of individual profit which is gained at the expense of his fellows. (Applause)

It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow. (Applause)

In (the) a great national movement that culminated

(in 1932) over a year ago, people joined with enthusiasm. They lent hand and voice to (the) a common cause, irrespective of many older political traditions. They saw the dawn of a new day. They were on the march; they were coming back into the possession of their own home land. (Applause)

As the humble instrument(s) of their vision and their power, those of us who were chosen to serve them in 1932 turned to the great task.

In one year and five months, the people of the United States have received at least a partial answer to their demands for action and neither the demand nor the action has reached the end of the road. (Applause)

But, my friends, action may be delayed by two types of individuals. Let me cite examples: First, there is the man whose objectives are wholly right and wholly progressive but who declines to cooperate or even to discuss methods of arriving at the objectives because he insists on his own methods and nobody else's. (Applause)

The other type to which I refer is the kind of individual who demands some message to the people of the United States that will restore what he calls "confidence".

(Laughter, applause) When I hear this I cannot help but remember the pleas that were made by government and certain types of so-called "big business" all through the years 1930, 1931 and 1932, that the only thing lacking in the United States was confidence. (Applause)

Before I left on my trip on the first of July, I received two letters from important men, both of them pleading that I say something to restore confidence. To both of them I wrote identical answers: "What would you like to have me say?" (Laughter, applause) From one of them I have received no reply at all in six weeks (later). (Laughter) I take it that he is still wondering how to answer. (Laughter) The other man wrote me frankly that in his judgment the way to restore confidence was for me to tell the people of the United States (declare) that all supervision by all forms of government, Federal and state, over all forms of human activity called business should be forthwith abolished. (Laughter)

Now, my friends, in other words, that man (he) was frank enough to imply that he would repeal all laws, state or national, which regulate business -- that a utility could henceforth charge any rate, unreasonable or

otherwise; that the railroads could go back to rebates and (other) secret agreements; that the processors of food stuffs could disregard all rules of health and of good faith; that the unregulated wild-cat banking of a century ago could be restored; that fraudulent securities and watered stock could be palmed off on the public; that stock manipulation that (which) caused panics and enriched insiders could go unchecked. In fact, my friends, if we were to listen to him and his type, the old law of the tooth and the claw would reign in our Nation once more. (Applause)

(My friends) The people of the United States will not restore that ancient order. (Applause) There is no lack of confidence on the part of those business men, farmers and workers who clearly read the signs of the times. Sound economic improvement comes from the improved conditions of the whole population and not a small fraction thereof. (Applause)

Those who would measure confidence in this country in the future must look first to the average citizen.

Confidence is returning to our agricultural population who, in spite of unpredictable and uncontrollable

drought in a large area of the Nation, is giving understanding cooperation to practical planning and the ending of the useless bickering and sectional thinking of the past. Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black ink of today with the red ink of many years gone by; (applause) to the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration rights for which they fought unsuccessfully for a generation; (applause) to the men and women whose willing hands found no work and who have been saved from starvation by Government work and Government relief; to the youngsters whose childhood has been saved to them by the abolition of child labor; to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business men, big and little, who now, for the first time, find Government cooperating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance; to the home owners who have been saved from the stark threat of foreclosure and to the small investors and savers of the Nation who, for the first time, rightly believe that their savings are secure. (Applause)

These are the elements that make for confidence in the future. This Government intends no injury to honest

business. The processes we follow in seeking social justice do not in adding to general prosperity take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul. (Applause) In other words, we are concerned with more than mere subtraction and addition. We are concerned with (the) multiplication also -- multiplication of wealth through cooperative action; wealth in which all can share. (Applause)

These high purposes must be accompanied by cooperation among those charged by the people with the duties of government. I am glad to be in a State from which I have greatly drawn in setting up the permanent and temporary agencies of the (Government) National Administration. (Applause)

Your two Senators, Bob LaFollette and Ryan Duffy, (applause) both old friends of mine, (applause) -- they and many others, worked with me in maintaining excellent cooperation, the kind I have been talking about, between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them. (Applause)

Not only in Washington but also in the states (there) it has been necessary, of course, for us to have cooperation by public officials in the achievement of the great purposes we seek. I thank Governor Schmedeman, another old friend of mine, (applause) I thank him for his patriotic cooperation with the national Administration.

We who support this new deal do so because it is a square deal (applause) and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness (of) in a free society such as ours. I like its definition by a member of the Congress. He said:

"The new deal is an old deal -- as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life. It is as old as Christian ethics, for basically its ethics are the same. It is new as the Declaration of Independence was new, and the Constitution of the United States; its motives are the same. It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power

to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning. It recognizes that man is indeed his brother's keeper, insists that the laborer is worthy of his hire, demands that justice shall rule the mighty as well as the weak.

"It seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual worker and brain worker, into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."

May you keep that vision before your eyes and in your hearts; it can (and), it will be attained. (Applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

FROM THE REAR PLATFORM OF HIS TRAIN

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

August 9, 1934, 2.35 P.M.

It is good to see you all again and I am glad to be back in Milwaukee.

I have two very distinct recollections of the time I was here two years ago. The first of them was that wonderful lake drive of yours and I wish I could get out and drive around it again. The other was the feeling I had, after driving through the city, that there was one school to every block and 50,000 children to every school. (Laughter)

I have had a very wonderful trip. This is a fine welcome you have given me, the recollection of which I will take back to Washington.

Many thanks. (Cheers and applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE ROOSEVELT HOME CLUB MEMBERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

MOSES SMITH'S COTTAGE

August 30, 1934, 4.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mr. Erden D. Acker.)

This is a very nice welcome-home party. I am certainly very glad to get back again.

About a year ago, a Constitutional amendment called the Norris Amendment was adopted by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the Constitution. They made a great mistake when that amendment was adopted because it continued the old pernicious practice of having the Congress sit in Washington all through the lovely Springtime and it has meant that for another two Springs I have got to be in Washington instead of Hyde Park.

As a matter of fact, as you know, I have only been here for about 48 hours since last Fall and in the meantime I made a good many voyages into a good many places. When I got back here on Sunday, one of my neighbors gave me a very severe shock when he came up and shook my hand and then looked at me and said, "My, how fleshy you have got." (Laughter) And then, to cap the climax, one of these people - special writers -- I think they call them 'columnists' or something like that -- made the assertion, and of course anything that you see in the paper in categorical form must be true, he said that I put on twelve pounds. Well, I resent

it. But of course you cannot quarrel with the press - you all know that. He just added a little figure one in front of the true gain - I did gain two pounds - and I came up here with the perfectly serious intention of taking off five. But there is a certain quality to Dutchess County milk and my mother's cooking, and the air that you breathe; I don't believe I am going to make good my objective.

I have had, since Congress went home, an exceedingly interesting trip. I did the queer and strange thing of going almost to the Equator in July. As a matter of fact, just between ourselves, I went to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Cartagena, and Colombia, and the Canal Zone and Cocos Island, which is only a few degrees from the Equator, and Hawaii, and I never felt the heat until I got back in northern Montana, up next to the Canadian border. It was a very wonderful trip, took me to a lot of places I hadn't seen before, took me to a number of territories and dependencies of the United States which I had wanted to see because of the fact that you and I as Americans are responsible for them. The people in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone and Hawaii, no matter what their racial origin, may have been, are still our fellow-citizens, and as such we have a very distinct responsibility for them as long as the American flag floats over them. So I wanted to see what some of their problems were at first hand; to see whether this great nation of ours was doing the right thing by these

fellow Americans of ours.

And then, on the way back, coming across the continent, I had the opportunity of seeing a number of very large public works which had been undertaken, partly to relieve the unemployment of the present time, but equally to develop great regions of our country in the future for the benefit of future Americans.

Of course you have heard me before -- you have heard me very often talk about things growing up like Topsy. Things have grown up like Topsy in a great many places in the country and we are paying the penalty today. The simplest illustration, quite aside of the problem of this year's drought, is the fact, as you and I know, that a great deal of land was taken up by people from the East and from the Middle West and put into cultivation -- land that ought never to have been cultivated. And so we are engaged as a nation in undoing mistakes of the past, rectifying them so that in the future we won't be paying so much of a penalty for those mistakes as we are paying today.

I always think in crossing the Continent about the people who went there -- went out West -- and I often wonder whether we people back home realize our responsibility. I think it was Dr. Poucher here today who first dug out the facts -- Dr. Poucher or Miss Helen Reynolds. When I was a small boy I used to go hunting up in the Town of Clinton, which isn't far from here as you know, and when I was a boy people used to talk about a certain section north of the Town of Clinton around Brown's Pond

they called "Kansas". Nobody ever knew why it was called Kansas, but it was called Kansas locally. We dug into the facts -- tried to look up the origin of the name and finally the best solution of the problem seemed to be this: That somewhere around 1850, when the State of Kansas -- I guess it wasn't even a state then, just a territory that had been opened for the white man -- when it was being developed by railroads that were being pushed across the prairie, some enterprising agent of the railroad, and of course every railroad out through that section was being presented in most cases with every alternate square mile or section of land on both sides of the track, which was a pretty handsome thing for those railroads, but didn't keep them out of the hands of the receivers, however -- and they sent back agents here through the older, settled parts of the country to get people to go out there. I take it that right here in our county there are a good many acres of what we might call "marginal land" that were settled by the Dutch and English and Scotch and Irish that ought never to have been settled, and in those days there were not only marginal lands in the county but marginal families, and I am sorry to say that there are a lot of marginal families in this town and county today, and you and I know it.

This agent went to Poughkeepsie, and it all came out in the papers in Poughkeepsie in the period, and with a horse and buggy he went out through the town and county. He got up into the town of Clinton and he had what you and I would call prospectuses today about this far land of Kansas, and he persuaded about

six or eight families north of Brown's Pond to accept his offer, and to get on an emigrant train which was to leave a week later from Poughkeepsie. They only had a week to move but these neighbors of ours of nearly a hundred years ago just closed up house and closed up the barn and went. They were behind in their taxes, probably. They were poor. They didn't see any future living up here in the Town of Clinton, so they decided they would move out to the new prairie land. So they went down to Poughkeepsie and got on the emigrant train and disappeared out of our county. Possibly they have kin who still live here. And it is an interesting fact that when I go through the United States, west of the Mississippi, there is hardly a state that I go into on any trip that somebody doesn't come up to me and say, "Governor", or "Mr. President, do you know a family back in Dutchess County named so-and-so?" And I say, Why, yes, I have heard the name." And then they would say, "Why, she was my grandmother" or "He was my grandfather." And they would ask, "Do you know what part of Dutchess County they lived?" Of course, I didn't know where grandpa had lived in Dutchess County 75 years ago. But there are people from this county all over the United States, especially out through the Middle West and Far West and they have a certain amount of pride of ancestry and they are asking today, trying to find out something about grandmother and grandfather and great-grandmother,-- wanting to know something about the place they came from.

It rather thrills me to think of how this country all ties in together in that we, and when you come right down to it everyone of us has, proudly, an enormous number of cousins - they may be distant cousins - living in all sort of places in the United States, that we haven't any idea of, people that we never heard of in all our lives, and that is one reason why I am always thrilled when I go through the country. It is the fact that we have a solid nation. I think I have told you the story before, it is always worth repeating, the comparison that Lord Brice, the historian who was Ambassador in Washington twenty or thirty years ago, used to make between the United States and Europe; that here we have come from all kinds of stock, all kinds of nations in Europe, and yet here we have, most of us, got half a dozen different racial strains in us and yet here we are, all Americans; over three thousand miles one way and two thousand the other, talking the same language and essentially thinking along the same lines. It is a pretty thrilling thing, and Lord Brice used to go on and compare the struggles between nations in Europe, many of them nations that you could put inside half the State of New York, populations in those nations that you could put into half the State of New York, all fighting each other all the time, on economic lines and social lines, on war-like lines. Yet, excluding Russia, all the rest of Europe would pretty nearly fit into the United States.

Lord Brice would go on to say, "You are singularly blessed in America, because when there are new things to be done

you have got - not a melting pot - you have got a trying-out system through the different States. You don't have to do it all over the country at the same time, except in crises and emergencies, and when you people have crises and emergencies you seem to get together and keep together very well until the crisis or emergency is past. You can try out experiments along some one economic problem or another economic problem, to see if it works, or compare it with other similar experiments in other parts of the same country and gradually work out the solution of any problems that are cropping up every day".

And so while on the surface of things this country around here, and Dutchess County, looks fine, looks the way we want it to look - no drought, pretty good crops, while on the surface things are in better shape than they have been in a good long time, and I believe that the Home Club performs a real service in this town because it has given people an opportunity to learn more about problems, not just of the town, but of the country as a whole. But I hope very much, and I know you won't mind me saying this, I hope very much that the Home Club will more and more have meetings, and people coming to address those meetings who will tell the truth about conditions and about the methods that are being used to try to solve those conditions. The more we do that the more we will realize that if a farm family is on the verge of starvation in North Dakota, we people in the town of Hyde Park are helping to pay to keep

that family from actual starvation; if we have made mistakes in the settling of the country in the past, we in the Town of Hyde Park have got to pay to correct those mistakes. In other words, that we have a definite stake, not merely the spiritual side of it, or the social side of it, or the patriotic side, but the actual financial side of it. We people in the Town of Hyde Park, no matter whether we like it or not, we are paying, and will have to pay for the correction of mistakes that were made in other parts of the country in the past, and to pay to get things better.

Most of us, the great majority, see the country as a whole, see that unless we help to raise other people, they are going to drag us down and most of us are very willing to bear our share and to work for the attainment of the national objective.

By the way, I didn't know I was going to make an address until Moses told me so about five minutes ago, but I have been going on delivering not an address but a sermon.

I do wish that everybody in this country has a chance to know every part of the country, every other part where they don't live. I am awfully proud of the country and awfully proud of the way we are realizing our national responsibilities, and am very certain that the good people of our town - I know the members of the Home Club are all right, and I believe that most of the other people who don't belong to it will be willing

to go along and cooperate in a big program that has nothing to do with party and nothing to do with section, trying to be square to all, Republicans and Democrats and Socialists, and everybody else, no matter what they call themselves, no matter which party or church they belong to.

I am glad to see you all, glad to be back, and sorry that Congress will probably be in session again in the Spring, but I do hope that I will be able to stay here for another month, and if possible, violate all precedents by taking off a few pounds.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
extended over the telephone to the
International Association of Chiefs of Police
Washington, D. C., September 27, 1934, 9.30 P.M.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the International Association of
Chiefs of Police:

It affords me a great deal of pleasure to address
this brief personal message of greeting and best wishes to
my friends of the International Association of Chiefs of
Police.

I wish to commend your organization for the coop-
eration which it is furnishing in the great movement which
the agencies of government -- National, State and local --
are now organizing against the forces of crime. No under-
taking is more vital to the welfare of society at this time
than that of the prevention and detection of crime. The so-
cial order cannot exist except upon the basis of a respect
for and observance of the law, and it is only when the people
of a country are secure in their homes and in the normal ac-
tivities of their lives from the depredations of the criminal
classes that National progress can be maintained.

This respect for law and this security are possible
only when the administration of justice is entrusted to wise,
upright, patriotic and courageous officials.

It is of great importance that the International Association of Chiefs of Police shall press forward its vigorous efforts directed toward the elevation of the standards of police institutions and officials. Permit me, therefore, to wish you success in your great work.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the
Fourth Annual Women's Conference on Current Problems
September 27, 1934, 10.00 P.M.

I wish that I could have attended in person all of the sessions of the Conference on Current Problems because of the wide field of human endeavor which it has covered and because of the distinguished group of speakers to whom you have listened. The world as a whole is making progress in meeting current problems, because the world as a whole realizes that the problems are new and, as such, must be met with new answers.

If you were to ask me, I would tell you frankly that the greatest achievement of the past two years in the United States has been the fact that the American people have taken, and are taking, a greater interest in, and have acquired a better understanding of, current problems affecting their welfare and the world's welfare than at any time at least during the present generation. That is a very heartening thought to all of us who believe in the republican form of government as carried into effect by majority rule.

In every walk of life in every part of the country, it has become a normal and an interesting thing when two or more persons are gathered together for them to talk over

methods of improving the economic and social lot of our citizenry.

More and more people are doing their own thinking. The number of poll-parrots in our midst is steadily declining -- for which we must be very thankful. More and more men and women are looking up their own facts and forming their own opinions.

We are learning to discriminate between news and rumor. As a people we put our tongues in our cheeks when a fact or a series of facts are distorted, no matter what motive is the cause of that distortion.

We as a people are less inclined to believe those who would create fear or encourage panic. We as a people pay small attention to those gossip-mongers who invent tales, generally with a selfish objective behind the tales.

You and I as sensible Americans know of daily instances which mar rather than help our efforts for calm discussion of current problems. Just for example, I cite one which occurred this very day; a rumor which started in Wall Street, spread to Chicago, and came back to Washington for verification. The rumor was the immediate retirement of three members of my Cabinet -- the Secretary of Agriculture and his Undersecretary, the Secretary of Labor and the

Secretary of the Treasury. It even went to the extent of announcing the name of a new Secretary of the Treasury.

The origin of the report comes from what is politely called "an anonymous source". I urge that every one of you consider and analyze the source and motive back of every report you read.

Fortunately the overwhelming mass of the American people pay no more attention to this kind of rumor than I do. Today's story happens to be wholly untrue.

It is with a very definite sense of gratification and thanks that I tell you of my conviction that our people have both feet on the ground; that they are increasingly interested in the truth and increasingly interested in arriving at sound conclusions regarding our national progress in meeting current problems.

For that reason I am glad to have this opportunity of sending my greetings to a gathering of intelligent men and women, who know how to discriminate in making up their minds about the current problems of American life.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
1934 MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN NEEDS CONFERENCE
September 28, 1934

I am happy that for the second time the Conference on the Mobilization for Human Needs comes here to the White House. In doing this you are emphasizing with me the national character of our common task. (for) I like to feel that I share the responsibility with all of you who are here representing every part of (our) the country.

Your work in the past has been of such outstanding success that I am confident that this year you will achieve an all-time record.

(In addressing you) last year, when I had the privilege of speaking to you, I emphasized the simple fact that the responsibility of the individual and of the family for the well-being of their neighbors must never cease. If we go back in our own history to those earliest days of the white man in America, we know with those first Winters of suffering in Jamestown and at Plymouth, it has been, from that time on continuously, the American habit to render aid to those who need it. Through the centuries as the first struggling villages developed into communities and cities and counties and states, destitution and want of every description has been cared for, in the first instance by community help and in the last instance as well.

With the enormous growth of population we have had, with the complexities of the past generation, community efforts have been supplemented by the formation of great national organizations designed to coordinate and stimulate these local groups who are striving not only to take care of those in need but also striving to stimulate better conditions of health, of child welfare, of mental hygiene, of recreation and in all those many other splendid objectives which are part and parcel of our national life today.

The mere reading of the names of the organizations that are working solidly behind this great task is enough to make this country realize the unity of purpose, the solidarity behind what we are doing and it is right, I think, for us to emphasize that the American family must be the unit which engages our greatest interest and concern. With this we must stress once more the task of each community to assist in maintaining and building up that family unit.

No thinking or experienced person insists today that the responsibility of the community shall be eliminated by passing on this great and humane task to any central body at the seat of Federal Government. You and I know that it has been with reluctance and only because we have realized the imperative need for additional help that the Federal Government has been compelled to undertake the task of supplementing the more normal, the more actual methods which have been in use (for many) during all the

preceding generations.

I repeat what I told you last year because it is something that is a fundamental of our present-day civilization: that the primary responsibility for community needs rests upon the community itself. That if every effort has been used by any given community and has proven insufficient, then it is the duty of the State to supplement, with the resources of the state, the additional needs up to the limit of the power of the state. And that, finally, and only finally, it is only when both of these efforts, taken together, have proven insufficient that the Federal Government has any duty to add its resources to the common cause.

It is inevitable, of course, that in carrying on relief -- whether in the form of work relief or home relief -- in an area that includes every state, every county and every city in the Union, local inefficiency is bound to exist in some instances. It is very definitely your task, (yours) and mine, to see to it that during the coming winter there shall be increased vigilance in every locality, vigilance against the giving of relief or of aid of any kind except to those who definitely and clearly need it and are entitled to it.

In a great emergency system we are establishing with each passing month a greater degree of efficiency, and we are eliminating many of the evils which of necessity attended our first efforts of over a year ago. The trained workers which

belong to the many organizations represented in this conference have an opportunity and a duty to see to it, first of all, that destitution is relieved and, secondly, that no family and no individual shall be entitled to public assistance if that individual or that family does not deserve it.

Your work and the work of local, state and Federal agencies, is so closely associated that your success is very vital to the success of Government itself. I am confident that the people of this country, in each and every community, will understand the true importance of cooperating in this great mobilization for human needs.

I always like to emphasize the word "privilege" rather than the word "duty"; for it is clearly the privilege of the individual American to bear his personal share in a work which must be kept personal in so far as it is possible to make it so. It is that personal appeal, that personal service, which has carried us through all these trying years. A unity of effort for a little while longer will, I am confident, bring national success to our nationally unified efforts to bring Old Man Depression to the point where we can finally master and destroy him. (Applause)

The church groups and the social groups organized on private lines, whether they act separately or jointly through Community Chests, or in any other way, are an essential part of the structure of our life. The American people believe in

you, believe in the work you are doing -- the American people support your fine objectives. That support again this year will attend the excellent enterprise you are launching today.
(Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION OF THE VETERANS HOSPITAL
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA
October 19, 1934

Governor Perry, Mr. Chairman, my friends:

I could not have failed to receive inspiration during this past hour -- the generous welcome that so many of you good people have given me since I got off the train in Roanoke, my motor trip out here and now, at the end, the coming to this hospital site, the view of these magnificent buildings and, almost more than anything else, I think, the glorious hills, this lovely country of Virginia. (Applause)

And I am honored, too, in the escort that you have given, the Virginia National Guard, these young men from two schools which are known throughout the length and breadth of the land, V. M. I. and V. P. I. (Applause)

(The foregoing was all extemporaneous.)

But in coming (to Roanoke) here today, in coming to take part in the dedication of the latest addition to our chain of veterans hospitals, I do not seek to enumerate or to catalogue the many steps which have been taken

by your Federal Government to care for its veterans of many wars, -- generous steps, fine steps, and of late years, adequate steps.

Most of you in this great audience are from this neighborhood and in the years to come you will see how your Government treats the men who have served it, treats the men who will occupy this hospital. They will be your friends and your neighbors. I commend them to your care, and I am very certain that you will give it to them.

You see before you today a monument which is a very definite representation (representative) of the national policy of your Government that its disabled and sick veterans shall be accorded the best treatment which medical and surgical science can possibly supply.

In a larger sense these buildings are a symbol of the broader policy, the policy that the Government is seeking to give aid not only to the veterans of its wars but also to hundreds of thousands of other citizens -- men, women and children who are handicapped by environment or by circumstance and are lacking today in what reasonable people call the essentials of modern civilization.

For a great many years we have seen a constantly growing realization of the fact that any large or small group in any community which lacks the elementary necessities of proper food, of decent housing, of adequate medical attention, of essential education, those groups drag down the level of the whole country, those groups of necessity retard the progress of the whole country. It is just the same thought, to put it into naval terms, that the speed of a fleet is the speed of the slowest vessel in the fleet. Or, to put it in military terms, the speed of an army is the speed of the slowest unit comprising that army.

In one sense these men and women and children that I am talking about are not forgotten people -- I believe you have heard that phrase before -- (applause) in one sense they are not forgotten people for the very good reason that we have known of their existence and we appreciate their plight (for many years). But, in another sense they have been forgotten, for it has only been in recent years that Government, as such, has undertaken to help them on a national scale.

The further we go in our survey to find out who these people are and where they live, the more appalled I

am by the magnitude of our task. Most of us know in general terms of the slum conditions which exist in many of the cities of America. Most of us know, from hearsay (at least) or from personal knowledge, of people who have lived for generations in back eddies remote from the active stream of life. But, I think, we have failed to realize the existence of these underprivileged people who are present and largely forgotten in practically every single one of the more than three thousand counties that make up (of) the forty-eight States of the Union.

The improvement of their hard lot -- for they exist in every community -- is a definite obligation on all of our citizens and I am confident that the veterans of our American wars will be among the first to recognize this fact.

The improvement of their hard lot compels our immediate exertions, not only because of the individual human beings who are suffering today, that is bad enough, but, also we are impelled to help them because future generations of American citizens will become the descendants of those who are now in need. In this thought also the the veterans of our wars will go along.

Let it be well remembered that the hundreds of thousands of men and women and children to whom I have referred, scattered throughout our Nation, have no splendid hospitals for their care, have no medical attention, such as will be provided in this Veterans home; have no opportunities for adequate education, and can but suffer the ills of their lives according to their own individual circumstances.

You have heard it said that we must restore prosperity. You have heard some kind people say that the country is distinctly better off from a material point of view than it was last year. I am inclined to agree with them. (Applause) But, other people, who fail to think things through, forget that one cause of the depression which we are beginning to leave behind, was the very existence of (hundreds of thousands) millions of men, women and children who have been and continue to be a definite drag against the return of prosperity.

It must remain our constant objective to eliminate the causes of depression and the drags on prosperity. It must be our constant objective to do what we can to

raise these people up to a higher standard of living, to a better chance in life. It will cost money to do it. In the spending of this money, it goes without saying that we must have due regard for the good credit of the Government of the United States. That, my friends, means that we can not spend at once or in any given year all that we could possibly spend.

I mentioned once upon a time that we must do first things first; the care of the disabled, the sick, the destitute and the starving in all ranks of our population -- that, my friends, is the first thing. To this the Veterans of American Wars give their approval in agreement with the overwhelming majority of our other citizens.

I make this statement in regard to the Veterans of America because I believe in them, because I am confident of their patriotism, because of their understanding of our national needs, and I make it because of two other reasons: The first is that our Federal Government and our State Governments have given to them many privileges not accorded to other citizens, and the other reason is that it has been amply demonstrated that the Veterans of the World War, today in the prime of life, are better off

on the average, from the point of view of employment and of annual income than the average of any other great group of our citizens, and that is why I know they will go along with my thought of caring first for the great masses of people in this country who are crying for care and who need it today. (Applause)

So, my friends, as I look out on these beautiful mountains, I cannot help feeling that we should let these facts about our country, together with this great monument -- this Veterans Hospital and all the other institutions of their kind throughout the country -- that we should let all of them serve as a symbolic and bold denial of any careless statement that the United States does not take care of those who have served it in war, but, more than that I should like to have this monument and all the others throughout the length and breadth of the land serve as a symbolic affirmance of our American belief in the underlying patriotic willingness of everybody in the country, Veterans, non-Veterans, men, women and children -- their underlying patriotic willingness to put first things first.

That is the way of American progress and this symbol, which we dedicate today, will live all through the

years to remind us that we are going to make progress in
an American way. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

October 20, 1934

(The President was presented with a scroll
by the City of Williamsburg.)

Mr. Mayor, I understand that this City of Williamsburg is reviving an old custom dating back several centuries.

I have not been here for two years but, as you know, I have often been here before in the past and every time that I come here I see renewed evidences of the restoration of Williamsburg to its high estate.

During all these years the good people of Williamsburg have maintained the traditions of the past -- maintained them for the benefit of the Nation of today and the Nation of tomorrow and therefore I am very happy to be made today, in a sense, a citizen of Williamsburg.

I hope that in the future I shall come back many times to avail myself of the freedom of the city.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA
October 20, 1934

Mr. President, Governor Perry, My Fellow Students of William and Mary, My Friends:

I value far beyond the sentiment conveyed by my mere acknowledgment in words the honor that you, in behalf of this historic institution, have conferred upon me today.

I well know the great tradition that the College of William and Mary has carried through the centuries. You have taught, you have inspired and you have honored the great and devoted men who were responsible in such large part for the shaping of the cause of American liberty.

President Bryan, on this occasion of your inauguration as President of this institution, I congratulate you on the opportunity of service that lies before you. In my official capacity, I can bring to you the greetings of the Nation and I think I can take it upon myself, as a son of Harvard, to extend her greetings to the oldest of a long line of distinguished sisters.

The first time I (visited) came to Williamsburg was more than twenty years ago. I shall always remember my arrival. I (arrived) landed at Jamestown from a boat and started to walk to Williamsburg. Fortunately I was picked up by an old negro in

a horse and buggy and driven here over what was (then a nearly) at that time an almost impassable road (from Jamestown to Williamsburg). (Then) in those days there was no Capitol building, there was no Palace of the Royal Governors, there was no Raleigh Tavern. Instead modern buildings had crept into this historic place, almost to the extent of crowding out the fine old Colonial structures which were still standing.

What a thrill it has been to me to return today and to have the honor of formally opening the (reconstructed) Duke of Gloucester Street, which rightly can be called the most historic avenue in America; what a joy it has been to come back and see the transformation which has taken place, to see the Capitol, the Governor's Palace, all the other buildings which have arisen even since I was here two and a half years ago, (the Raleigh Tavern, born again,) to see 61 Colonial buildings restored, 94 Colonial buildings rebuilt, the magnificent gardens of Colonial days reconstructed -- in short to see how through the renaissance of these physical landmarks the atmosphere of a whole glorious chapter in our history has been recaptured. Something of this spiritual relationship between the past, the present and the future was (expressed by) well described by the first man who sought to colonize America, Sir Walter Raleigh. He said:

"It is not the least debt that we owe unto history that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors; and out of the depth and darkness of the earth delivered us their memory and fame."

I am happy to say that the Federal Government, inspired by the fine vision and example of Mr. Rockefeller in recreating Williamsburg, has effectively taken up the preservation of other historic shrines nearby. Six miles to the west of us, we have acquired Jamestown Island and we are now carrying on the necessary archaeological and research work to determine what should be done in the preservation of that hallowed spot. Fourteen miles to the east of us at Yorktown the National Park Service has acquired many thousand acres of land, and is actively carrying out the restoration of the symbol of the final victory of the war for American independence. When the work (at Jamestown, at Williamsburg and at Yorktown) in these three places is completed we shall have saved for future generations the nation's birthplace at Jamestown, the cradle of liberty (of) at Williamsburg, and the sealing of our independence at Yorktown. (Applause)

Nearly two centuries ago it was to William and Mary College that Thomas Jefferson came in 1760. Here he studied for two years, remaining five years longer in Williamsburg to pursue the study of law. It was here in Williamsburg that he was admitted to the bar. It was to Williamsburg that he returned, first as a member of the House of Burgesses, then as Governor

of Virginia, following Patrick Henry. He lived in the Governor's Palace during his term and later served on the Board of Visitors of the college (William and Mary). It was largely the result of his recommendations, I am told, that the curriculum of the college was broadened to provide education in law, medicine, modern languages, mathematics and philosophy. No doubt inspired by his reflections on government, human liberty and the necessity of education, Jefferson throughout his life was interested in designing a system of education for his state and for the nation. I like to think of him, not only as a statesman, but as the enlightened father of American education.

And, strange as it may seem, I believe it is entirely fitting that a statesman should have (been) also been an educator. As education grows it becomes, of necessity, a partner of government.

When Jefferson wrote his "Notes on Virginia," he discussed the education then prevailing at William and Mary, pointing out the essentially liberal education that this college was giving to its students. He observed that in order to provide a more advanced type of education, the subjects of the six professorships had been changed after the Revolutionary War. It is a matter of very great importance to all of us that one of the six was the professorship of law and of what is now called political science. The teaching of law and of the science of government thus established as an academic discipline in this institution

was made significant by the intellectual leadership of George Wythe, who was appraised by Jefferson as "one of the greatest men of his age." The study of this subject, because essentially it touches every human impulse, every human problem, becomes one of the greatest means for the broad education of men who enter every walk of life. It can become the touchstone of universal culture.

Law in itself is not enough. Man must build himself more broadly. The purpose of education, shown by these various subjects of instruction indicated by the builders of William and Mary was not to train specialists, but to educate men broadly. They were attempting to train not merely doctors, lawyers and business men, but broad-gauged (men of the world) citizens of the Nation and of the world. They were, in short, training men for citizenship (in a) of our great Republic.

This was in the spirit of the Old America, and it is, I believe, in the spirit of (the) America (of) today. The necessities of our time demand that men avoid being set in grooves, that they avoid the occupational pre-destination of the older world, and that in the face of the change and development in America, they must have a sufficiently broad and comprehensive conception of the world in which they live to meet its changing problems with resourcefulness and practical vision.

There is in the spirit of a liberal education something of the self-confidence and the adaptability that is characteristic

of our country. The pioneer does not call his life a failure if he comes to the end of one path. He knows that there are others, and with a sense of direction and a will to persevere, his life can go on with confidence into the uncertainties of the future.

All of us must honor and encourage those young men and young women whose ambitions lead them to seek specialization in science and in scholarship. Our great universities are properly providing adequate facilities for the development of specialists. (in science and in scholarship) The Nation is using their services in every form of human activity. Private business employs them. (and so does every type of government) Private enterprise and government (enterprise) will continue to do so.

But at the same time there is a definite place in American life -- an important place -- for broad, liberal and non-specialized education. Every form of cooperative human endeavor cries out for men and women who, in their thinking processes, will know something of the broader aspects of any given problem. Government is greatly using men and women of this type -- people who have the non-specialized point of view and who at the same time have a general and extraordinarily comprehensive knowledge, not of the details, but of the progress and the purposes which underlie the work of the specialists themselves.

The noble list of those who have gone out into life from the halls of William and Mary is in greater part distinguished because these graduates came to know and to understand the needs of their Nation as a whole. They thought and acted -- not in terms of specialization, not in terms of a locality, but rather in the broad sense of national needs. In the olden days those needs were confined to a narrow seaboard strip. Later the needs gradually extended to the Blue Ridge and across through the mountains to the fair lands of Tennessee and Kentucky. Later still they spread throughout the great middle west and across the Plains and the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean.

It is in the realization of these needs in their national scope of today that the present and future generations of William and Mary can best carry forward the fine traditions of their centuries.

So I would extend my heartiest good wishes to the College of William and Mary, built early in the morning of American life, dedicated to the education of the makers of a great Republic, seeking to enrich and broaden the meaning of education, and seeking, above all things, to recognize that republican institutions are, in the last analysis, the application to human affairs to those broad human ideals that a liberal education preserves, enriches and expands in our beloved land. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Mobilization for Human Needs
October 22, 1934

For the second successive year I am making a direct and frank appeal to the country to give support to worthy local charities of all kinds.

You will recognize the necessity of the general rule which prevents the President of the United States from asking for assistance or contributions on behalf of any specific or individual good cause. If I were to begin doing that I would be on the air at least two or three times every evening.

In this case, however, there is in existence a central organization called the "1934 Mobilization for Human Needs". The object of this mobilization is to encourage and tie in together the many private organizations which are seeking funds to carry on their very essential and necessary work for the coming year.

In some communities these organizations seek contributions from the public by the means of Community Chests; in other communities they are asking for help separately but simultaneously.

May I very simply explain to you two facts which all of us should bear in mind?

The first is that the Federal Government, the State governments and local governments are all of them bearing an unusually heavy load of expenditures for relief and employment purposes -- a load so heavy that every good citizen should seek to lighten it in every way possible. This effort on the part of governments of all kinds to bear their share of the emergency needs proceeds very clearly on the assumption that the total amount of relief of human needs, heretofore borne by private contributions to private organizations, will continue in the future at least at the same pace and in the same amount as in the past.

I hope that you will well realize that it is contrary to a sound public policy to transfer more burdens to the shoulders of government if it can possibly be avoided and, therefore, that private charity should, as a matter of good citizenship, be maintained at least at current levels.

The other point I would make is that none of us want to eliminate the personal factor in taking care of human needs. Surely none of you want to centralize the care of relief either in Washington or in your State Capitol or in your City Hall. The decentralization of relief -- the keeping of it in the hands of private organizations as much as we possibly can -- means that personal relationships, personal

contacts, personal obligations and personal opportunities to do good will be preserved.

It is, therefore, without hesitation and with very deep feeling that I ask you to support your local charitable and welfare organizations in this 1934 Mobilization for Human Needs.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

HARRODSBURG, KENTUCKY

November 16, 1934

Senator Barkley, Governor Laffoon, and, after what your Senior Senator has said, I think I can say, "My Fellow Pioneers": (Applause)

We, pioneers of 1934, are come together today to honor the pioneers of a century and a half ago. On my journey hither I have been reading once more of those thrilling days which saw the first peopling of these fair lands beyond the mountains and seized the perfect moment which destiny offered to our forebears to create these United States.

It has seemed to me in reading history that Harrodsburg can lay claim to having been the scene of more historical first things than any (other) spot I have ever known, and as you know, I am very much in favor of first things. It seems not enough that this delightful and historic place was the first permanent settlement well beyond the mountains; that there were here (were) the earliest pioneer homes; that here came the first school teacher and the first doctor; that here was the first court (in) of the West; that seems not enough, to this you must add many other firsts -- the first corn raised in Kentucky (laughter and applause), the first peach (stones) trees and apple (seeds) trees planted, the

first wheat fields, the first grist mill and perhaps most important of all, the first spinning wheel.

That is why I am happy that in addition to paying tribute to the memory of George Rogers Clark who led his men from here to his great invasion and preservation of the inland empire to the United States, you are also honoring the men and women who made his expedition possible and who followed him with the permanency of home building.

It has come to be a generally accepted rule of civilized nations that mere discovery of new lands conveys no sovereignty; and, indeed, that mere conquest conveys but little better title. It is, after all, only the peopling of the wilderness which gives permanency in the form of an ordered society.

There is a very definite analogy between these days and our days. Upon the pioneers of those great stretches of the central west were forced new activities because of the circumstances of their surroundings. They were compelled to hew out a new path -- a path that was dependent not on the axe and the rifle alone, but upon their ability to govern themselves in new ways as well.

To most of the pioneers the necessities of the new life called for efforts and experiments to which they had not been accustomed in their earlier years in the more ordered civilization of the Atlantic Seaboard. For them, survival

itself demanded immediate and new action.

I have called those of us who are here today "pioneers of 1934." And I mean everything that that word "pioneer" implies. We, too, in these latter years throughout the length and breadth of our land have come to a realization of the pregnant fact that the accustomed order of our formerly established lives does not suffice to meet the perils and the problems which today we are compelled to face. Again, mere survival calls for a new pioneering on our part. (Applause)

Some portion of the blood of the Colonists and the blood of the pioneers who worked their way, through generations, across the mountains and across the plains and again across the mountains until they came to the Pacific -- that blood is present in very large part in the veins of millions of our people today and, in even greater part, in the veins of those whom I see before me today. More than that, the example and the spirit of those earlier Americans is present in the mind and the heart of all our population.

The events (which we here) they celebrate today were so vital in the extension of the new nation that it has been thought proper for Congress to commemorate them not only in the spirit of gratitude but in the spirit of emulation as an example to guide us in the conquest of new frontiers of the spirit, frontiers of the spirit that are neither physical nor geographical.

We are carrying on, we shall carry on the purposes of these men and women of Harrodsburg. (Applause) They were hewing out a Commonwealth -- and I like that word "Commonwealth."

All over this Nation we (too) are hewing out a Commonwealth -- a Commonwealth of the States which we hope will give to its people more truly than any that has gone before, the fulfillment of security, of freedom, of opportunity and of happiness which America asks and which America is entitled to receive. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS INSPECTION TOUR OF
THE TENNESSEE VALLEY PROJECTS

ON THE CLINCH RIVER, BELOW THE NORRIS DAM
November 16, 1934 - about 4.15 P.M.

My friends:

I am getting a great thrill out of this. I was thinking today that it was only a year ago last January, less than two years ago and before I became President, that I came down to Muscle Shoals with Senator Norris and a number of other gentlemen. At that time a very great idea was just beginning to take shape. It was only an idea then and when I think of the very small period of time that has elapsed since then I am very proud to have had something to do with it. But I am a lot prouder of the way you good people are carrying that idea into actual fact. All of you who are working here at this great dam project and all of the good people throughout the Tennessee Valley who are working on the rest of this great program some day will be known as veterans -- you will be known as veterans of a new kind of war, the kind of war that is going to improve conditions for millions and millions of our fellow American citizens.

All I can say to you is "God speed the work." You are going at it with a splendid spirit and I am coming back here again some time when you get this work done.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO CORINTH, MISSISSIPPI
November 17, 1934 - 8.35 P.M.

(The President was introduced to the audience by Congressman Rankin. There were present on the rear platform from which the President made his address, Mrs. Roosevelt, Senator Harrison, Congressman Rankin, Mayor Candler, Mr. Adams, Dr. Morgan and Mr. Lilienthal.)

My friends:

I am glad to come into the district of my friend, John Rankin. I am glad to come back to Mississippi after an absence of six long years.

We have had a great day today. We started with a great friend of the people this morning -- Andrew Jackson. We are ending up the day with another friend of the people -- the Tennessee Valley Authority. As you all know, I have been tremendously interested in the work that you good people have been carrying on. You are carrying out the ideal of working out things for the benefit of the average man by meeting new problems with new methods, -- and I might add to that, the average woman too.

I want to say a special word of commendation for the way you people in Alcorn County have worked out an experiment that is going to succeed -- the Alcorn County Electric Power Association.

There are two points in regard to what you have done that ought to be known all over the United States -- north and south and east and west. The first is that you are treating your County as a unit and that in treating it that way you are giving an equal opportunity to the people who live on the farm with the people who live in the city. The other interesting fact, I am told, is that with cheaper rates of electricity than you ever had before, you are going to pay off the money you have borrowed in five and a half years -- and that is going some.

And so, my friends, you are doing something not only for yourselves but for the rest of the United States. You are proving something that some of us have believed to be true for a great many years. And, in proving it to the rest of the United States, you are going to make life easier for the average family in a great many other places and that is why I am very glad to stop here tonight. I wish I could come here by daylight and see more of you -- I will do that some time later on.

I want to congratulate you and tell you how happy I am in hearing about the fine public spirit that Corinth and Alcorn County are showing to the United States of America.

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Congressman Rankin then presented Mr. Lillienthal and Secretary of the Interior Iokes.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO TUPELO, MISSISSIPPI

November 18, 1934

Senator Harrison, Governor Conner, Mr. Mayor, my
friends:

I would not make a speech to you today because we
are assembled on this glorious Sunday morning more as neighbors
than as anything else.

I have had a very wonderful three days and everywhere
that I have gone, the good people have come as neighbors to
talk with me, and they have not come by the thousands -- they
have come literally by the acres.

This is the first time in my life that I have had the
privilege of seeing this section of the State of Mississippi.
Many, many years ago, when Pat Harrison and I were almost boys,
I got acquainted with his stamping ground down on the Gulf.
Today I am especially glad to come into the northern part of
the State.

Two years ago, in 1932, during the campaign, and again
in January, 1933, I came through Kentucky -- through the
Tennessee Valley -- and what I saw on those trips -- what I saw
of human beings, made the tears come to my eyes. The great
outstanding thing to me for these past three days has been the
change in the looks on people's faces. It has not been only a
physical thing. It has not been the contrast between what was
actually a scarcity of raiment two years ago or a lack of food

two years ago -- the contrast between that and better clothing and more food today -- but it is a something in people's faces and I think you understand what I mean. There wasn't much hope in those days. People were wondering what was going to come to this country. And yet today I see not only hope but I see determination -- knowledge that all is well with the country and that we are coming back.

I suppose that you good people know a great deal more of the efforts that we have been making in regard to the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority than I do because you have seen its application in your own counties and your own towns and your own homes and, therefore, it will be like carrying coals to Newcastle for me to tell you about what has been done.

But perhaps in referring to it I can use you as a text -- a text that may be useful to many other parts of the Nation, because people's eyes are upon you and because what you are doing here is going to be copied in every state of the Union before we get through.

We recognize that there will be a certain amount of -- what shall I say? -- rugged opposition to this development, but I think we recognize also that the opposition is fading as the weeks and the months go by, fading in the light of practical experience.

I cite certain figures for the benefit of the gentlemen of the press, who have come hither from many climes. I am told

that from March of this year, when you started using TVA power, the consumption of power for residential purposes has risen from 41,000 kilowatts to 89,000 kilowatts -- an increase of 126%. I understand that from the financial point of view, in spite of various fairy tales that have been spread in other parts of the country, your power system is still paying taxes to the municipality. That is worth remembering. Furthermore, that as a whole it is a remarkable business success.

I talk about those figures first because it has been so often wrongly alleged that this yardstick which we are using could not be applied to private businesses because a government yardstick receives so many favors; that it is let off from paying this and paying that and paying the other thing. Well, we are proving in this Tennessee Valley that by using good business methods we can instruct a good many business men in the country.

And there is another side of it. I have forgotten the exact figures and I can't find them in this voluminous report at this moment, but the number of new refrigerators that have been put in -- that means something besides just plain dollars and cents. That means a greater human happiness. Electric cookstoves and all the other dozens of things which, when I was in the Navy, we used to call "gadgets" -- we are making it possible, all of us working together, to improve human life through the introduction of things that aren't especially new so

far as invention is concerned, but things which are becoming more and more necessities in our American life in every part of the country.

And I have been interested this morning in seeing these new homesteads -- not just the buildings, not just the land that they are on, not just the excellent landscaping of the trees among which those homes have been set, but especially the opportunities that those homes are giving to families to improve the standard of living.

And finally, my friends, there is one thing about all that you are doing here in Tupelo, that they are doing in Corinth, that they are doing in Athens and Morris, and the various other places where accomplishment can be seen today -- aye, the most important thing of all I think is that it is being done by the communities themselves. This is not coming from Washington -- it is coming from you. You are not being Federalized. We still believe in the community; and things are going to advance in this country exactly in proportion to the community effort. This is not regimentation -- it is community rugged individualism. It means no longer the kind of rugged individualism that allows an individual to do this, that or the other thing that will hurt his neighbors. He is forbidden to do that from now on -- and it is a mighty good thing. But he is going to be encouraged in every known way from the National Capitol and the state

capitol and the county seat to use his individualism in co-operation with his neighbors' individualism so that he and his neighbors both may improve their lot in life.

Yes, I have been thrilled by these three days -- thrilled in the knowledge not only of practical accomplishment but thrilled also in the belief -- the deep-seated belief on my part that the people of this Nation understand what we are trying to do, are cooperating with what we are trying to do and have made up their minds that we are going to do it.

And so, in saying "Goodbye" to you for a short time -- because I am coming back -- I ask all of you, throughout the length and breadth of the Tennessee Valley and those areas which form an economic portion of that Valley -- I ask you all to remember that the responsibility for success lies very largely with you, that the eyes of the nation are upon you and that I, for one, am confident that you are going to give to the Nation an example which will be a benefit not only to yourselves but to the whole one hundred and thirty millions of Americans in every part of the land.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VISIT TO BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA,
EN ROUTE TO WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA

November 18, 1934 - 2.00 P.M.

My visit through the Tennessee Valley region would be incomplete without a stop here, brief as the visit must be on this trip. I remember with greatest pleasure the last time I was here, nearly four years ago, when as President-elect I had acquired some first-hand information of the problems of Tennessee and of northern Alabama.

I speak of Birmingham as being in the Tennessee region because, while I appreciate that you are located south of the Tennessee watershed, still there are a great many economic and social relationships between this City and the great territory which lies north of you.

I know something of the many difficulties under which you have been laboring in recent years. I well understand the problem, for example, of the heavy industries, such as iron, steel and coal -- industries on which you so largely depend. I can assure you that they are matters of the keenest concern to the whole Administration.

The great program of Public Works, which you know something about, which is in full swing, calls for vast quantities of the iron and steel and other capital goods this area produces. That program is going to help Birmingham and the surrounding territory.

Definite improvement has made its appearance, as you know, in the coal industry. The success of the N.R.A. coal code appears not only in the more orderly mining of coal but also in something that lies very close to my heart, steady employment and bigger pay envelopes for the thousands of miners who were in sore straits before the Government acted.

But, of course, for you who live in the economic area of which this is the southern end, the Tennessee Valley Authority must continue to receive your growing interest as it receives the growing interest and approval of so many other communities. The whole project can succeed fully only if it has the wholehearted support and cooperation of the people here, and it is getting that support. I particularly bespeak of the people of Birmingham an active cooperation with the Tennessee Valley Authority and I know that you will give it.

You know, I am always frank, and I am aware, of course, that a few, just a few, of your citizenry are leaving no stone unturned to block, to harass and to delay this great national program. I am confident, however, that these obstructionists, few in number as I have said, few in comparison with the whole population, do not reflect the views of the overwhelming majority of the people of Birmingham or the neighboring cities. I know, too, that the overwhelming majority of your businessmen, big and little are in hearty accord with the great undertaking of

regional planning now being carried forward. They stand and you stand shoulder to shoulder with T.V.A. -- you stand eager to carry forward the development of this region in which Birmingham plays so important a part.

It is good to be with you again, I am glad to have this splendid reception and I am looking forward to coming back here at a time when I hope I can spend the whole day.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF
BUILDERS' HALL AND KRESS HALL,
WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA
November 29, 1934, 2 o'clock, P.M.

(The new units of the Foundation were presented to The President, acting on behalf of Warm Springs Foundation, by Mr. John C. Heggeman, who made a short presentation speech.)

Mr. Heggeman, and all of you who have done so much to make the new Warm Springs a splendid fact:

As I came down here, Keith Morgan said that we had only overlooked one thing that should have been a part of this ceremony. He said that we ought to have laid a wreath on the spot where the old Inn used to stand. Those of us who have memories of the old Inn and of the old Georgia Warm Springs, we can still cherish those old memories and still be devoutly thankful that the old Inn is gone.

It is with a deep sense of responsibility and of gratitude that the Trustees of the Foundation accept and dedicate today these two new Units which you have made possible. These buildings represent more than bricks and mortar. Into their construction has gone the human

quality of sympathy and understanding of thousands of people -- our own neighbors of the State of Georgia and many others in every part of the nation who have understood the vision.

To these buildings will come, we hope for many generations, people -- especially children -- who will be greatly helped along the road of life.

Warm Springs is doing much for them today but even in the future Warm Springs can never hope to give help at this place to more than a small fraction of those who need help. Ours, therefore, must be ever the greater aim -- to maintain here the example of the right way of giving help so that throughout our land other groups and other buildings may carry the torch to the handicapped and crippled wherever they may be.

You, Mr. Heggeman and all of you whose names appear on this scroll, have our grateful thanks for you have built on solid foundations for all the years to come. This scroll will be placed within Builders' Hall in a suitable frame and I think that this golden key should also be placed in a little glass box so that everybody will know that these buildings are open to everybody.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF
THE COLUMBUS COLONNADE
GEORGIA WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION, WARM SPRINGS, GEORGIA
November 29, 1934, 4.15 P.M.

(The presentation address was made by
Mr. James W. Woodruff.)

I was thinking this morning that if it had not been for Columbus there would not have been any America, and we all know that if it had not been for the good people of Columbus, Georgia, there would not have been any Warm Springs.

I shall never forget my early years here at Warm Springs -- those years before there was any Foundation at all, but years when the old glories of Warm Springs were being kept alive very largely by the citizens of Columbus. I shall always be grateful to them for their helpfulness at that time and later on during the difficult days of transition. I shall always be grateful to them for the great help that they have given in so many ways since then, and it is fitting that this Colonnade shall keep many ties unbroken. Many thanks.

INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE THANKSGIVING DINNER
GEORGIA HALL, WARM SPRINGS FOUNDATION
November 29, 1934, 9 P.M.

It has been the custom, ever since our first Thanksgiving party of 1926, for me to call attention to the fact that the particular evening is a bigger party than ever before.

We started out with our first Thanksgiving party, as I remember it, with forty people, and it got up to sixty and to a hundred and then to a hundred and fifty and two years ago, the last Thanksgiving dinner we had at good old Meriwether Inn, we had about two hundred and forty people in the dining room. That big dinner was what really compelled us to build Georgia Hall, because, while we don't know whether it was the turkey or the people, the old dining room settled six inches during that party.

Tonight I cannot do as I have done before, say that this is the biggest party we have ever had. I don't know and I don't care because we have reached the limit of our capacity. We thought we had a big dining room and I suppose the day will come when we will have to add to

this dining room. In all events, this is the biggest party and, I think, the finest party we have ever had.

Don't anybody shoot Paul Rogers for those pictures. They are all libelous, but it was a grand film, Paul, and it brought back a great many old episodes to my mind. You went back, in the beginning of that film, to the first date with respect to this land, 1835, but there is a tradition that goes back beyond that, a tradition that I always like to remember in connection with Warm Springs. It is the tradition of the Indians. It is the earliest settlers who have handed down the story to us that long before the white people came here, Warm Springs was a place that people came to to get well, and in the tribal wars between the Creeks and the Cherokees and the Cowetas and the other tribes around here, any wounded Indian seeking to come to Warm Springs had to hold up his hand and give the sign that he was coming here, and from that time on he was not molested. The story has it that when the Indians came here to get cured of their wounds, they lived here, different tribes all together, as in a place of sanctuary where war was forbidden. That tradition, I think, has been rather faithfully carried

out right down to the present day.

Yes, this is a sanctuary for people, for wars of the body and wars of the mind are absolutely taboo. They do not have to be forbidden because of a thing that perhaps came down to us all the way from the Indians -- what we call "the spirit of Warm Springs". It has been here at least as long as I have been here, and I am quite sure it is still here and I am quite sure it will always rest upon these buildings.

Tonight marks the tenth anniversary of my coming to Warm Springs. Some of you have heard the story before but it occurred to me that a good many of you have not heard of the origin of the Foundation so, if you will permit me, I will tell you some things that perhaps many of you know.

In the Spring of 1924 I was taking treatments from Dr. Lovett in Boston who, at that time, was believed, I think, by everybody to have done more in the after treatment of infantile paralysis than almost anybody. In June I went on up to Boston and spent a week getting my braces fixed up and learning some new exercises. I got talking with Dr. Lovett about his experimental work with Polio

part, and about September first, I think it was, I got a letter from Mr. Peabody and Mr. Peabody said, "Here is an interesting letter that I am enclosing from Mr. Tom Loyless, who is running Warm Springs for me." Mr. Loyless told about a young man by the name of Josephs from Columbus who had come up here after an attack of infantile paralysis. He could not walk at all. It was just a public pool, but he had taught himself to use his legs in the water, to get his feet down to the bottom and to walk around on the bottom. Later on he found he could walk in shallower water all the time and he kept on doing that until he found that he could walk on dry land. Well, I put two and two together and I said to myself, "This confirms Dr. Lovett's theory." Meanwhile, Dr. Lovett had gone on a trip to Europe and unfortunately had died over there, so I was unable to consult him anyway. But I spoke to Peabody and it was arranged for me to go to Hart's Cottage, now Mr. Pierson's cottage, and we came down in the Autumn. The only people who were here when we arrived were Mr. and Mrs. Loyless and old Mr. Watts, the postman, and it is perfectly true that he read everybody's postcards, in fact, he read so many

postcards that it took him almost all day to make the delivery of the mail to the Loyless cottage and mine.

When we came down there wasn't any doctor around here; there was nobody in charge or anything of a medical nature and I went down to what is now the public pool. It was rather simple in those days.

I stayed here for a month and I improved so much that I came back the following Spring. But people had heard about it and one day Mr. Loyless and some of the neighbors -- the Harts, Miss Wilkins and Josephs and some of us were sitting around when a messenger came up the hill to Mr. Loyless and said, "Two people have been carried off the train down at the station. What will we do with them? Neither of them can walk."

Well, we held a consultation and it was quite late -- quite early in the Spring, long before anything was done here in the way of a hotel or cottages, and we decided that we could take care of them in the Village overnight and then, in a couple of days we could fix up what is now "The Wreck", and put them in it. Well, before we could put that cottage in order, eight others had arrived. They came like Topsy and got here before

we knew it. We did not know what to do with them so I sent for Dr. Johnson and he came and looked them over and guaranteed that they did not have heart trouble or something from which they would suddenly die, and he recommended cream and fattening diets for some and he recommended very little food for some of the others. And then I undertook to be doctor and physio-therapist, all rolled into one. I taught Fred Botts to swim. I taught them all at least to play around in the water and I remember there were two quite large ladies and when I was trying to teach them an exercise which I had really invented, which was the elevating exercise in the medium of water, one of these ladies found great difficulty in getting both feet down to the bottom of the pool. Well, I would take one large knee and I would force this large knee and leg down until the foot rested firmly on the bottom. And then I would say, "Have you got it?", and she would say, "Yes", and I would say, "Hold it, hold it." Then I would reach up and get hold of the other knee very quickly and start to put it down and then number one knee would pop up. And this used to go on for half an hour at a time, but before I left

in the Spring, I could get both those knees down at the same time.

I called that my medical practice -- the first and last time that I have ever practiced medicine and physio-therapy. After I get through with the White House, I hope the medical fraternity will allow me to come back and practice here; I feel I would be rather good at giving exercises in the water. At least, I had more exercise in the water, over a longer period of time, than anybody else in captivity in this country.

And then, of course, we came down the following year, 1926, what, in a way, was the most interesting period we have ever had here because, for the first time, we had adequate medical supervision. We were a very small group of patients, I think there were twenty-five. Dr. Hubbard and Miss Mahoney were in charge and every step we took was an experiment. In order to make both ends meet, we tried to run the Inn as a hotel at the same time that we were taking care of these twenty-five patients.

Mr. Pope and I were (?) the Foundation that year. Mr. Pope and I had long conferences. We started with a band of five pieces -- you saw that picture tonight --

but I think we spent an hour talking over the question of whether we could afford a band of five pieces or whether we should reduce it to three pieces. However, we managed to get by, and the following Spring of 1927 the Foundation itself was truly launched.

Just see how that child has grown from 1927 to 1934 -- seven years. They are seven years that have shown a continuous growth, a growth not only in the number of patients we are treating, but also a growth in the physical facilities that we have.

I hinted to you, and I am not going to do more than hint again, that as a result of our action today, I hope that the Warm Springs family next year is going to be even larger than it has been this year. That has been made possible by the very splendid fund that was collected all over this country under the leadership of Colonel Doherty on the thirtieth of January last. This year we are not asking for any more funds for the Foundation. The Birthday Party will go seventy per cent of all funds raised to the care of infantile paralysis in the various localities throughout the country where they have Birthday Balls and, finally, the other thirty per cent is going to be

spent to do something we have always had in mind. It is going to further the cause of research and, as I said this afternoon, in the dedication of the two buildings, you must always remember that you who are here, those of us who are here under medical care, only represent a tiny fraction of the people throughout the land, grown-ups and children, who have infantile paralysis; therefore, even if we were to double in size or quadruple in size, we could treat only a small fraction of the people of this country who need treatment.

We need to do everything we can to spread the knowledge we are gaining at Warm Springs, the treatments which we are so successfully carrying out so that, throughout the country, the facilities for taking care of grown-ups and children who have Polio can be vastly improved. That is why Warm Springs may be called a pioneer, but it is also an example for a great many other people to follow all over the United States.

This has been a grand Thanksgiving, certainly for me. Mrs. Roosevelt and I count on these Thanksgiving parties more than we can tell you. I wish we could get down in the Spring and if Congress, what shall I say, off the record, should behave itself, perhaps we will come down.

(Applause) But, in any event, we will be here next time without fail and so I am not going to bid you good night now, but I am going to carry out, with Mrs. Roosevelt, an old custom. We are going over to stand by the door and shake hands with all of you and bid you "good night".

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION
Nashville, Tennessee
Monday, December 10, 1934.

My friends of the Farm Bureau:

You and I know that the year now ending has been one of significant accomplishment for agriculture. Despite the worst drought of record, farm income is running about a billion dollars above last year.

All of us would like to see an even larger increase in 1935, but we know that this cannot come unless, in the first place, industrial production increases sufficiently to expand the market for farm products; unless, in the second place, more of our export trade is paid for by increased imports; and unless, in the third place, agriculture continues to adjust its total production to the market that actually exists.

To fulfill these three requirements, I ask a continuation of the splendid support you have so unselfishly given in the past.

I wish very much that it were possible for me to be with you today, and I give you my warm regards.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the
Attorney General's Crime Conference
Monday, December 10, 1934, 9.30 P.M.

During the past two years there have been uppermost in our minds the problems of feeding and clothing the destitute, making secure the foundations of our agricultural, industrial and financial structures, and releasing and directing the vital forces that make for a healthy national life. As a component part of the large objective we include our constant struggle to safeguard ourselves against the attacks of the lawless and the criminal elements of our population.

Relentlessly and without compromise the Department of Justice has moved forward in its major offensive against these forces. With increasing effectiveness, state and local agencies are directing their efforts toward the achievement of law enforcement; and with them, in more marked degree than ever before, the Federal Government has worked toward the common objective.

It is a privilege to pay tribute to the men and women in who, many capacities, official and otherwise, have contributed to our growing success. To a much greater extent than is generally realized our law enforcement officers throughout the

country have rendered devoted, conscientious and effective service, often under exasperating and hazardous circumstances.

Their effectiveness has, unfortunately, been impaired because of inadequate organization, unscientific administration and lack of public support and understanding. In many instances, we may as well frankly admit, bandits have been better equipped and better organized than have the officials who are supposed to keep them in check. This is particularly true because of the lack of coordination between local agencies within the states. It is, also, contributed to in serious measure by the lack of facilities for training skilled men for the work of detection, apprehension and prosecution of accused persons, and by similar lack of facilities for the study and supervision of certain types of criminals capable of rehabilitation.

It is important, too, that we recognize clearly the increasing scope and complexity of the problem of criminal law administration. Undoubtedly there are unfortunate aspects of our national life which seriously threaten the American home; increase the danger of juvenile delinquency and multiply offenses against the good order of society. The regulation of the illicit traffic in drugs, the prevention of commerce in stolen goods, and generally, the interstate character of

offenses attributable to the roving criminal have presented national problems against which primitive forms of law enforcement are relatively powerless.

It is equally necessary that we realize the importance of common action all along the line -- starting with crime prevention itself and carrying this common action all the way through to prosecution and punishment.

Effective detection of criminals may be rendered useless by ineffective prosecution or by unintelligent judicial disposition. Beneficent and promising procedures, such as probation and parole, may become actually sources of danger, if ignorantly or indifferently administered. So, too, reliance on mere repression cannot take the place of intelligent training and guidance of youth.

We have come to a time when our need is to discover more fully and to direct more purposefully into useful channels that greatest of all natural resources, the genius of the younger generation. Crime is a symptom of social disorder. Widespread increase in capacity to substitute order for disorder is the remedy.

This can come only through expert service in marshalling the assets of home, school, church, community and other social agencies to work in common purpose with our law

enforcement agencies. We deceive ourselves when we fail to realize that it is an interrelated problem of immense difficulty. Scientific research, highly trained personnel, expert service are just as necessary here as in any field of human endeavor. To the extent that we provide, instead, unscientific methods, poorly trained personnel and hit-or-miss procedures, we may expect bungling, heartbreaking results.

I am delighted, therefore, that the Attorney General has called you together for this Conference. The country knows that under his leadership we are getting better results than ever before.

It is heartening and reassuring to the people of the United States that you have gathered here for this purpose. They are looking to you for guidance and intelligent leadership. They have a right to expect from you a constructive program of action in which they as individuals, and collectively as communities and organizations, may participate. It should be a challenge to you to respond to these expectations.

The task of this thoroughly representative conference is two-fold.

First, I ask you to plan and to construct with scientific care a constantly improving administrative

structure -- a structure which will tie together every crime preventing, law enforcing agency of every branch of Government -- the Federal Government, the forty-eight state governments and all of the local governments, including counties, cities and towns.

Your second task is of equal importance. An administrative structure that is perfect will still be ineffective in its results unless the people of the United States understand the larger purposes and cooperate with these purposes.

I ask you, therefore, to do all in your power to interpret the problem of crime to the people of this country. They must realize the many implications of that word "crime". It is not enough that they become interested in one phase only. At one moment popular resentment and anger may be roused by an outbreak of some particular form of crime such, for example, as widespread banditry; or at another moment, of appalling kidnappings; or at another of widespread drug peddling; or at another of horrifying lynchings.

It is your positive duty to keep before the country the facts in regard to crime as a whole -- great crimes, lesser crimes and little crimes -- to build up a body of public opinion which, I regret to be compelled to say, is not in this day and age sufficiently active or alive to the situation in which we find ourselves.

I want the backing of every man, every woman and every adolescent child in every state of the United States and in every county of every state -- their backing for what you and the officers of law and order are trying to accomplish.

The sustained interest and assistance of the organizations here represented can become a public service of high significance in the social life of the Nation -- a service to which the American people, I am confident, will not fail to respond.

THE PRESIDENT'S CHRISTMAS GREETING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 24, 1934, 5:15 P.M.

This is the second year that I have joined with you on this happy occasion. Then, as now, with millions of others we celebrate the happy observance of Christmas.

The year toward which we looked then with anticipation and hope has passed. We have seen fulfilled many things that a year ago were only hopes. Our human life thus goes on from anticipation and hope to fulfillment. This year again we are entitled to new hopes and new anticipations.

For all those who can hear but not see this gathering, let me explain that here before us in the park in front of the White House is the monument of a man who will live forever as the embodiment of courage -- Andrew Jackson. His was a long, long life in the public service, distinguished at all times by a chivalrous meeting of problems and difficulties that attended that service; a fast belief in people and a profound love for them. His patriotism was unstained and unafraid. Carved into that monument is his expression of the necessity for union. That message grows in importance with the years.

In these days it means to me a union not only of the States but a union of the hearts and minds of the people in all the States and their many interests and purposes, devoted with unity to the human welfare of our country.

Just across the street is the house he occupied one hundred years ago, the house the people of the country have built for their Presidents. From its windows I see this monument to this man of courage. It is an inspiration to me as it should be to all Americans.

And so let us make the spirit of the Christmas of 1934 that of courage and unity. It is the way to greater happiness and well-being. That is, I believe, an important part of what the Maker of Christmas would have it mean.

In this sense, the Scriptures admonish us to be strong and of good courage, to fear not; to dwell together in Unity.

I wish you one and all, here and everywhere, a very, very Merry Christmas.

EXTEMPORANEOUS ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL PRESS CLUB,
AT THE LUNCHEON
IN THE SMALL BALL ROOM OF THE WILLARD HOTEL,
JANUARY 10, 1941

MRS. ESSARY AND THE CLUB, LADIES, AND OCCASIONAL GENTLEMEN: (Laughter)

I came here, as my custom has been in the past with the Men's National Press Club, wholly unprepared. Whether it was to make Charlie Michaelson lose a bet or for other reasons, I don't know. I recommend that hereafter when you bet with men you put it down in writing. I asked Charlie what it cost; he said it was eight something. Well, that might be eight garments; he thought it was eight roses; he finally allowed it might be eight dollars.

I have had an awfully hard time -- all these mere men around the White House betting I would not come; raising objections, saying I had too much work, and so forth and so on. This morning when Steve (Mr. Early) came in -- in charge of Press Relations -- I felt quite cheerful; "Well," I said, "Steve, I am lunching with your girls today." He said, "My girls?" (Laughter) Lots of people you still have to cultivate.

Of course these days are difficult; I have a lot to do for both my better half and myself. There is only one thing that I think would relieve me greatly, and that would be to give up my Press Conference entirely at the Executive Offices and go over and attend my wife's conferences! Now, that's a time-saving device, and if you think it's all right, I might put it up to the men who come in to see me. My wife would save time and I would save time -- just one of those new, what do you call it? -- reorganizations of Government Departments.

As you know, I have an awfully good time at my Press Conferences,

and I would like to see some other people have a good time. I get by pretty well, except when some of you ladies ask me frightfully embarrassing questions. The ideal -- we were talking about public works, and a very good friend of mine asked me about the soft shoulders on the side of the highways. Now, really, drive out almost anywhere and you will see soft shoulders!

(Laughter) The great question is whether that should be adopted as a national project or not. Of course I said "No" -- because it already is a national project. (Laughter)

But I have an awful lot of worries, and I think that possibly in working out the organization of this effort of ours to build up our own defense and make it possible for the democracies of the world that are trying to survive, it would be a good idea if you would appoint a committee to help. I will give you just one or two examples. You might appoint a committee to go into the long list of problems we are trying to do something about in the way of progress.

All over the country -- let me put it this way -- there seems to be, instead of a small vocal minority, a very substantial agreement on the part of most people that we should go ahead with the building up and enlargement of the present defense program. Now, that means, essentially, that people everywhere are to make some sacrifices. There will be more things to do in every community throughout the land. The idle manpower and womanpower of the Nation is being taken up, to a certain extent. There are a great many people who want to do things to help that don't quite know how to do it. Both my wife and I get letters from all over the country from people who want to help -- from the small communities in every State -- and that brings up the question of how we can best do it.

I will give you the example of my problem, the method of doing it.

A very large proportion of the people who want to help are women -- say women who have homes in Hyde Park and Poughkeepsie, Warm Springs and other places, who have their home duties but who want to do something to help; and there are some -- a good many -- older people among them, people who could not go out and make munitions, could not do actual work in a factory, but could do nursing or something of that kind; and we are studying a method of doing it.

One of the things that we have pretty well decided, just for example, is that it ought not to be centralized in Washington. It shouldn't be just a Federal piece of work that is handled from here. There should be advice from here, so as to keep the thing more or less on the same basis in every State; but we don't want to set up any more Federal machinery than we can help -- the Lord knows we have enough of that already! So the general idea to give these people something useful to do in working toward defense is that it should be decentralized and handled primarily through the various State Councils of Defense, which in almost every State today have been organized under the local conditions in the State; but we may require sort of a tying together in the general outline of the program.

Now, so far, we are all right. I am giving you this to show some of the problems in the making of airplanes and the building of ships.

Then you get two schools of thought; one is that since this, primarily, is the work of women in these communities -- a very large part of it -- it should be handled by women; on the other hand, there is a certain amount of work where men and women should join in the running of it, in the smaller communities, and even in the cities, because the objectives that we all have in mind affect men, women, and children. There is the school of thought that says the organizational work should be handled by men and women in behalf

of national defense down to the grass roots of the city streets; so it has taken about a week or ten days to thrash this thing out, and the general consensus of opinion is that it should be run jointly by the men and women in the different communities. It will take quite a while to work toward that plan. Various people, both here and other places, are working on it. There is substantial agreement, and so, within a very few days (I may take the documents to Hyde Park with me, during the rest period for the next three days), probably next week, we will have some kind of announcement which will start the ball rolling and put the whole country, down to the individual home and the small village, and even the farm, in behind this great national program. As I say, I am using this illustration to show how much you have to think through. Every day we have problems of that kind.

The other illustration that I wanted to use was what might be called the difference between the problem of 1917 and the problem of 1941 and '40. In those days, as most of you who can remember back that far will remember, we never thought much down here in Washington about the cost of living, and it wasn't wholly the fault of the Administration, after we got into the war. We just hadn't had any experience, and a large portion of the increased costs of that war period had already arisen before we got into the war. In other words, at the end of '15 and through '16 and the beginning of '17, we were, in a sense, an arsenal, as we are today, for European nations; but there was no guidance, and as a result the allies on the other side took an enormous number of things from us, all the way from copper and lumber and raw materials to all kinds of finished products, and especially foodstuffs, and we got into what we recognize now as a vicious spiral. We didn't know it; nobody wrote about it; all we knew was that the cost of living was going up. Simultaneously, it was going around; living would go up; and then organized labor and every-

body else found it was going up and wanted more pay; and up went the pay; and on top of that, up went the cost of living. Costs had gone up and wages had gone up, with the result that during that whole war period we were in the vicious spiral.

There's an old law that that which goes up must come down; it came down with a terrific smash in 1920 and '21. Wheat went up to \$2.50 a bushel, even before we got into the war, and it was awfully difficult. Wheat means bread, and wheat went up from 80 cents to \$2.50; and when we got into the war, we went at it, hammer and tongs, but it was too late. Mr. Baruch in those days was the head of what might be called the price-fixing agencies; he found wheat at \$2.50, and he cut it to \$2., but he didn't dare cut it below \$2. a bushel.

Copper, we all know today, goes into all kinds of things used everywhere. The normal price, with a very good profit in those days, like today, was around 12 cents a pound. When Mr. Baruch came in and took control, it had got up to 28 or 30 cents a pound.

Cotton, selling at 8 cents a pound, went up to 34 or 35 cents a pound. That raised the cost of living -- sheets, pillow cases, clothes, and everything else.

This time we made a very definite effort, when we started this Advisory Commission last summer, to keep that spiral from operating in this period of stress; and that was why all seven members of this Advisory Council thoroughly understood why, for the first time, we had two people on the policy of the Government. One was Leon Henderson, whose work primarily was and is to keep the price of raw materials down to a reasonable level. There were three people -- Chester Davis representing Agriculture, trying to keep the price of farm products, most of which we eat, down to a reasonable level;

and Miss Harriet Elliott, who was trying to keep the cost of food you buy in stores, and other things that you have to have -- necessities of life that you buy from the retail stores -- to keep those down to a reasonable level too.

And so, as I say, there are a lot of people who never quite understood why, in turning out airplanes, guns, and powder and ships, we had to put on these people that seemed to have no relationship to airplanes and guns and ships. Well, it was something that we learned from the old war, something that we learned even fairly recently from the nations at war. We still have that task before us. So far it has worked pretty well, and the actual cost of living, taking it by and large, for the average human being in this country, is no higher than it was a year ago, or two years ago.

There is a constant effort on the part of people to chisel -- a very obvious thing. Last summer -- no, I guess it was a year ago September, when the war broke out -- somebody passed the word around -- it's amazing how fast things go -- you know the old saying, "Telephone, telegraph, tell-a-woman!" (laughter) -- I don't understand the latter part of it, but the fact remains that, in a great many cases in this country, word was passed out that there was going to be a sugar shortage -- and an enormous number of women put on a hat and beat it for the corner store! Well, when an enormous number of women do that, any store runs out of sugar; so the store had to say, "No more sugar". That increased the rumor; everybody began to hunt sugar. As a matter of fact, there was plenty of sugar in the country, as we all know; but, naturally, a retail store has only so much in the store; it has more in the warehouse and it can get more from the wholesaler any time it wants. But the price of sugar, within two or three days, in the retail stores, advanced from, say, 7 cents a pound to 10 cents a pound. Well, now, it was human nature

for the storekeeper to make that extra 3 cents. If I had been a storekeeper, I probably would have asked 10 cents a pound, with no right to ask more than 7.

That is the kind of thing we are trying to check in this country at the present time. It is a part of the general economic plan to prevent a price inflation of articles that we use, just as it is a part to prevent a wage inflation which would cause a price inflation.

Then we come down to one other thing, and that is talking about the future -- about priorities. There is a great deal of nonsense written about priorities; and so far, after six months of this very great effort on our part, we have avoided putting priorities into effect. I will give you an example: You know that in every community there is a tremendous amount of steel that is used for all kinds of things -- big buildings, little buildings, all kinds of building construction -- and so far we have thought that there was enough steel to go around for not only the program of defense -- planes, ships, and so forth and so on -- but also for the civilian needs, so that any person wanting to put up a house with a steel frame -- even a cheap house -- would get that steel to put up that house. Well, the question hasn't arisen quite yet; it may. Suppose, with this new program of new contracts -- additional contracts for the democracies overseas -- we have greatly to increase the output in this country of the steel goods; all right; the present steel capacity of all the steel mills may not be enough; then we have to ask the question, Who gets it first -- civilian needs or allied needs? That time hasn't come. With some other articles it may not be far off. We may have to resort to priorities.

Then there is another thing: suppose we run into a situation where some particular group of people, in order to make a few cents extra, in a

very human way, such as corn on the market -- push it up beyond any reasonable level; in a case of that kind, if they decline to follow a request by the Government -- I was referring to this a few days ago -- if they won't be patriotic and give up that excess profit, then we may have to use priorities as a method of preventing them from filling some of these civilian orders until they put the price down. Nothing particularly high-handed about that, because the Government has an obligation to see that the whole economic scheme of things in the country is not upset by two or three selfish people in one place and two or three selfish people in another.

So I think this particular period we are going through is one of the most interesting, certainly in my lifetime, because we are putting into effect things that we know, from past experience, that there ought to be an answer to -- things in the past that shouldn't have happened -- and we are trying now to put in operation, I may say, preventive measures to keep them from happening. That's only a natural and logical process in the line of making democracy work in a difficult time; and that's why it is an awful nuisance, but a very great privilege, to stay on in the White House after the twentieth of January. There are more new problems than any -- I suppose -- any President ever had before, certainly in my memory, except in the days of Mr. Wilson in 1917 and 1918. We have learned a great deal from that period. I think the country as a whole realizes that these things are not only necessary but that they are very advisable to our future.

In the same way, there are a great many things which mustn't be torn down. There is an awful lot of nonsense that is talked about, thinking in such terms that a lot of petty annoyances of the last few years will be removed. I had a man come in yesterday, a very old friend of mine, a grand person; but what he was saying to me in effect was, "I would like to get out

from under SEC; I would like to avoid (and he put it this way) having to keep half a dozen people just making out reports for the Securities and Exchange people." I said, "Why? Do you want to do some new financing?" He said, "Maybe." Then I checked up and, sure enough, he wanted to do some new financing. The financing he wanted to do was the character that was done in 1928 and 1929; it was the kind of financing that might very easily be oversubscribed by a lot of "suckers".

We have all been "suckers". We have all needed Government protection. Probably every person in this room has lost money, personally, through being a "sucker", or has lost money through a so-called trustee. Well, I know four or five people here who have lost money through trustees-- banks and trust companies -- that had funds -- funds that were needed by men, women, and children, old and young -- where the trust company, under the old dispensation, would take over bonds, stock, and things like that -- eager to underwrite and take part of that new issue, and then if they couldn't sell it all to the public, parcel it out to the trusts that they were responsible for -- like you and me.

This whole supervision that we have built up in the past eight years is not intended to be restrictive; it is intended to protect "Innocents Abroad" -- like you and me. I think the general public appreciates that. It does mean more paper work; and as you people all know what paper work is, perhaps I can best close by saying that some kinds of paper work are a nuisance -- filling Government reports, income tax returns -- but some kinds of paper work, like the kind you turn out -- that is a privilege! Thank you!

(Applause)

I forgot this (holding up a little metal donkey) entirely. This was given to me a few minutes ago, and it is a democratic donkey; and be-

cause the applause when I stood up came from all over the room -- which is different from what it was on the Capitol Hill the other day, I decided that this Club, as a whole -- Republicans and Democrats, both -- should have a democratic donkey -- so there it is! (Prolonged applause)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the White House,
On the Occasion of his Birthday Anniversary,
January 30, 1941, 11:24 P.M., E.S.T.

MY FRIENDS IN EVERY PART OF THE LAND:

From the bottom of my heart I thank all of you -- every man, (and) woman and child who has labored with my old friends, Basil O'Connor and Keith Morgan, in this great cause. And let me, at the outset, also give you my thanks in behalf of all those victims of infantile paralysis to whom this celebration tonight spells a new hope and a new courage.

Most of all, I am grateful to America -- for reaffirming at this hour America's humanity, America's active concern for its children. This is the eighth birthday, the eighth birthday in a row which all of you have made an occasion for joining hands in this national humanitarian effort.

I cannot say, as you can well understand, that this is for me a completely happy birthday. These are not completely happy days for any of us in the world. Shall we say that American birthdays this year are being made at least happier than they would otherwise be because all of us are still living under a free peoples' philosophy?

It is not only that the lights of peace blaze in our great cities and glow in our towns and villages -- that laughter and music still ring out from coast to coast -- that we will return to safe beds tonight.

It is not that we feel no concern for the plight of free peoples elsewhere in the world; that we do not hope that they may continue the freedom of their governments and their ways of life in the days to come.

It is because we believe in and insist on the right of the helpless and the right of the weak and the right of the crippled everywhere to play their part in life -- and survive.

It is because we know instinctively that this right of the unfortunate comes under our free peoples' philosophy from the bottom up and can never be imposed from the top down.

I do have satisfaction on this birthday of mine because of the fact that definite progress has been made in these past twenty years on a national scale in the fight against infantile paralysis. In a very broad but a very definite sense, this fight is a true part of the national defense of America.

I have always tried to remember that the particular problem of infantile paralysis does call for a truly national fight. We have it in every state of the union. We are at last organizing adequately to fight it.

We have had to face the necessity of uniting medical scientists and doctors and nurses and public health officers and the general public into a unique offensive -- and the battle year by year is gaining greater success.

This (The) year-in year-out campaign culminating on each January thirtieth has had, and still has, the support of almost everyone -- from those who give large sums down to the school children of the nation who contribute their pennies. Clearly, unquestionably, we are winning the fight -- winning it, thanks to all of you.

And so, to all of you I give my own thanks for the rarest birthday present of all -- the gift of your charity, the gift of your kindness to each other and to the Nation.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the White House,
In Commemoration of the thirty-first anniversary
of the Boy Scouts of America,
February 8, 1941, 7.35 P.M., E.S.T.

FELLOW SCOUTS:

The record of your achievements during the past year, as reported by Mr. Head, is something of which we can all be proud. I am most favorably impressed with the scope and the magnitude of the emergency service training program that is now being developed by the Boy Scouts of America.

The Boy Scouts of today are approaching manhood at a grave hour in the world's history. Recent events have threatened the security of free men everywhere; and the democratic way of life is being challenged in many parts of the world. The United States must be strong if our free way of life is to be maintained and for our national policy we, as a nation, have adopted the motto of the Boy Scout organization -- BE PREPARED.

In many ways the Boy Scouts have sought to emulate the deeds of the early American pioneers who subdued the wilderness and established on a new-found continent a better human society. But it is not primarily for mere physical feats that the Boy Scout movement has won the high praise and the esteem of the American people. It is rather because the Boy Scouts have dedicated themselves to the development of those qualities of character, (and) those qualities of citizenship, upon which the future of our democracy rests.

In this grave hour national defense dominates the heart and mind and soul of America. The Government must take the major responsibility, since it alone represents all of the people acting in concert. But the Government cannot and should not pre-empt those fields of private endeavor that (which) have become an indispensable part of life in America.

You who are members of the Boy Scouts have a great opportunity in your organization to do your part in this great task. In your Scout troops you have the opportunity to develop the type of leadership, (and) the group cooperation, which is so greatly needed in a democracy such as ours. You have opportunities in your Scouting program to develop those physical and mental qualities upon which the survival of a free-(self-) governing community depends.

The Boy Scouts have made and will continue to make an important contribution to the welfare of America's young manhood. The Boy Scouts have always responded generously when called into action in the service of their communities and their fellow citizens. And so the nation is confident that the Boy Scouts stand ready to contribute to the national welfare in these critical hours.

It follows, therefore, that I am proud of what you have done, I am proud of what you (and) are doing -- and I am proud of what I know you will do in days to come in playing your part in our American defense.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
on the occasion of the Thirteenth Annual Awards Dinner
of the
Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences,
Hollywood, California,
Broadcast from the White House,
February 27, 1941, 11.50 P.M., E.S.T.

MR. WANGER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am happy to greet the motion picture industry of America, whose representatives are gathered from far and near for the Annual Awards Dinner of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

In these days of anxiety and world peril our hearts and minds and all of our energies are directed toward one objective. That objective is the strengthening of our national defense. Every day that passes we realize that more and more things in our lives (life) must be evaluated in just such proportion as they contribute to the national defense.

The American motion picture as a national and international force is a phenomenon of our own generation. Within living memory we have seen it born and grow up, grow up into full maturity. We have seen the American motion picture become foremost in all the world. We have seen it reflect our civilization throughout the rest of the world -- the aims and the aspirations and the ideals of a free people and of freedom itself.

That is the real reason that some governments do not want our American films exhibited in their countries. Dictators -- those who enforce the totalitarian form of government -- think it a dangerous thing for their unfortunate peoples to know that in our democracy officers of the Government are the servants, and never the masters of the people.

In all that I have said on that all important subject through many months past I have emphasized that in the assault on the democratic

form of government (which) that imperils world civilization today, our problem of national defense has become one of helping to defend(ing) the entire Western Hemisphere -- all three of the Americas -- North, Central and South. We can no longer consider our own home problem of defense as a separate interest. It involves the defense of all the democracies of all of the Americas -- and therefore in fact, it involves the future of democracy wherever it is imperiled by force or terror.

An all important factor in hemispheric defense, in defense of democracies today, is the Lend-Lease Bill, whose early enactment by the Congress we confidently anticipate. It is a pleasure here and now to acknowledge the great service which the newsreels have performed in acquainting the public of America with all of the implications of this measure as it takes its way through the various legislative stages.

Acceptance of the task of cooperating with all the Americas in defending the entire Western Hemisphere, implicit in our plans for national defense, is a natural outgrowth of our own good neighbor policy in our relations with the other American Republics. Happily for democracy, the Americas stand forth today as a notable example of international solidarity in a world in which freedom and human liberty are threatened with extinction.

We have been seeking to affirm our faith in the Western World through a wider exchange of culture, and of education, and of thought and (of) free expression among the various nations of this hemisphere. Your industry has utilized, and is utilizing, its vast resources of talent and facilities in a sincere effort to help the people of (this) the hemisphere to come to know each other better.

In carrying on (this) the program of advancing the spirit of inter-American solidarity and continental defense our Government has established

machinery to coordinate our growing commercial and cultural relations with the other American Republics. Our Government has invited you to do your share of the job of interpreting the people of the Western Hemisphere to one another. And all of us in all the twenty-one American Republics and in Canada are grateful that your response is so immediate and so wholehearted.

I do not minimize the importance of the motion picture industry as the most popular medium of mass entertainment. But tonight I want to place the chief emphasis on the service you can render in promoting solidarity among all the peoples of the Americas.

For all of this and for your splendid cooperation with all who are directing the expansion of our defense forces, I am glad to thank you. In the weeks and the months that lie ahead we in Washington know that we shall have your continued aid and support.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
In Connection with the Anniversary Farm Dinners,
Broadcast from the White House,
March 8, 1941, 9:45 P.M., E.S.T.

I am glad to be able (again) to take part again in this anniversary celebration. Eight long years ago today I sent out a call for farmers and farm leaders to come to Washington to help draft farm legislation to meet the emergency (.); and that meeting led directly to the national farm programs that we now have.

Farmers did their work well. Agriculture was almost helpless, as we remember, before the emergency(ies) of 1933 but in September 1939, when another crisis confronted us, the crisis of the second World War, (it) farm-
ing was far better prepared.

The reasons for the favorable position of agriculture in the late summer of 1939 are not hard to find. Agriculture probably suffered more than any other industry from the shortsighted national policies that followed the end of the first World War. When the farmers arrived here in response to my call of March 8, 1933, I found a group eager for action and ready to lay aside minor differences. They knew that there was no time to lose.

So when the second World War began a year and a half ago, the farm programs inaugurated in 1933 served as what might be called shock-absorbers for agriculture. We had no repetition of the "Buy-a-Bale" movement and other ineffective proposals for farm relief that followed that August of 1914.

Today there is no call to plow up the plains. American agriculture is in splendid condition to play its full part in the program of national defense. Our granaries are full. Our stores of food and fiber are adequate to meet our own needs at home -- yes, and the needs of our friends in the other lands now fighting for their existence -- fighting in behalf of all democratic

forms of government, fighting against world control by dictatorships after the outbreak of the first World War.

The country is glad that there are no bottlenecks in our agricultural production. The farm front is ready for any demand of total defense.

It is no accident that the farmers of our country stand ready to serve in the severe trial ahead of us. Their preparedness is the fruit of their own voluntary, concerted efforts, stretching back over (the) all these years.

These efforts are embodied in national farm programs, conceived by the farmers and administered by the farmers.

To me the story of (this) that achievement is a genuine inspiration. Back, back in 1933, farmers balked at the philosophy of fear and inaction. Assisted by their Government, they came together and began to work together to solve some of these difficulties. Through their programs they have raised farm income. They are conserving their soil. They are rehabilitating poverty-stricken farmers. The farm front is a broad one but national programs for agriculture touch every part of this front, in every part of the land.

Six million farmers cooperating in these national programs are helping to give the answer to those who question the future of democracy. I am well aware that these programs have not solved all the farm problems. Out of the war -- the present war -- have arisen new difficulties and new demands. The post-war world will be different in many ways from the world that we knew before September 1939. But given a sympathetic national administration, farmers can meet these post-war problems as they met (those) the problems of 1933. They can achieve the equality they must have if they are to make their proper contribution to the national defense and to the American way of life.

It is the fate of this common life that weighs upon all our hearts tonight. And it may interest you to know that only a few hours ago the Senate

passed, by a vote of about two to one, the Lend-Lease Bill for aid to the democracies of the world that are trying to save their democracy. The farmer, no less than the businessman and the workman, has his eyes turned to the world situation.

Democracy over large areas of the old world is threatened with extinction. And no democratic farm program in the United States, nor the democratic way of life here, can hope to survive the death of democracy over the rest of the earth.

We cannot escape our collective responsibility for the kind of life that is going to emerge from the ordeal through which the world is passing today. We cannot be an island. We may discharge that responsibility unwisely but we cannot escape the consequences of our choice. We would have it a world in which we may live in peace, live in freedom, (and) live in security -- the kind of world our farmer forefathers dreamed of and worked for as they settled the old Atlantic seaboard and pushed their way into the West. I am confident that the farmers of 1941 want this kind of world to survive.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.,
At the Annual Dinner of the
White House Correspondents' Association
March 15, 1941, 9.30 P.M., E.S.T.

(This address was broadcast in at least seven different languages.)

PRESIDENT REYNOLDS, MY FRIENDS:

This dinner of the White House Correspondents' Association is unique. It is the first one at which I have made a speech in all these eight years. It differs from the Press Conferences that you and I hold twice a week (.), for you cannot ask me any questions tonight; (laughter) and everything that I have to say is word for word "on the record".
(Laughter)

For eight years you and I have been helping each other. I have been trying to keep you informed of the news of Washington, (and) of the nation, and of the world, from the point of view of the Presidency. You, more than you realize (it), have been giving me a great deal of information about what the people of this country are thinking (.) and saying.

In our Press Conferences, as at this dinner tonight, we include reporters representing papers and news agencies of many other lands. To most of them it is a matter of constant amazement that Press Conferences such as ours can exist in any nation in the world.

That is especially true in those lands where freedoms do not exist -- where the purposes of our democracy and the characteristics of our country and of our people have been seriously distorted.

Such misunderstandings are not new. I remember that, a quarter of a century ago, in the early days of the first World War, the German Government received solemn assurances from their representatives in the United

States that the people of America were disunited; that they cared more for peace at any price than for the preservation of ideals and freedom; that there would even be riots and revolutions in the United States if this nation ever asserted its own interests.

Let not dictators of Europe (and) or Asia doubt our unanimity now. (Applause)

Before the present war broke out on September 1, 1939, I was more worried, more worried about the future, than many people -- indeed, than most people. The record shows that I was not worried enough.

That, however, is water over the dam. Do not let us waste time in reviewing the past, or fixing or dodging the blame (for) of it. History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking. We, the American people, are writing new history today. (Applause)

The big news story of this week is this: The world has been told that we, as a united nation, realize the danger (which) that confronts us -- and that to meet that danger our democracy has gone into action. (Applause)

We know that although Prussian autocracy was bad enough in the first War, Nazi-ism is far worse (.) in this. (Applause)

Nazi forces are not seeking mere modifications in colonial maps or in minor European boundaries. They openly seek the destruction of all elective systems of government on every continent -- including our own; they seek to establish systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers who have seized power by force.

Yes, these men and their hypnotized followers call this a new order. It is not new(.) and it is not order. (Applause) For order among nations presupposes something enduring -- some system of justice under which

individuals, over a long period of time, are willing to live. Humanity will never permanently accept a system imposed by conquest and based on slavery.

These modern tyrants find it necessary to their plans to eliminate all democracies -- eliminate them one by one. The nations of Europe, and indeed we ourselves, did not appreciate that purpose. We do now. The process of the elimination of the European nations proceeded according to plan through 1939 and well into 1940, until the schedule was shot to pieces by the unbeatable defenders of Britain. (Applause)

The enemies of democracy were wrong in their calculations for a very simple reason. They were wrong because they believed that democracy could not adjust itself to the terrible reality of a world at war.

They believed that democracy, because of its profound respect for the rights of (men) man, would never arm itself to fight.

They believed that democracy, because of its will to live at peace with its neighbors, could not mobilize its energies even in its own defense.

They know now that democracy can still remain democracy, and speak, and reach conclusions, and arm itself adequately for defense. (Applause)

From the bureaus of propaganda of the Axis powers came the confident prophecy that the conquest of our country would be "an inside job" -- a job accomplished not by overpowering invasion from without, but by disrupting confusion and disunion and moral disintegration from within.

Those who believed that knew little of our history. America is not a country which can be confounded by the appeasers, the defeatists, the backstairs manufacturers of panic. It is a country (which) that talks out its problems in the open, where any man can hear them.

We have just now engaged in a great debate. It was not limited

to the halls of Congress. It was argued, argued in every newspaper, on every wave length -- over every cracker barrel in all the land; ^{and} it was finally settled and decided by the American people themselves. (Applause)

Yes, the decisions of our democracy may be slowly arrived at. But when that decision is made, it is proclaimed not with the voice of any one man but with the voice of one hundred and thirty millions. It is binding on us all (of us). And the world is no longer left in doubt. (Applause)

This decision is the end of any attempts at appeasement in our land; the end of urging us to get along with (the) dictators; the end of compromise with tyranny and the forces of oppression.

And the urgency is now.

We believe firmly that when our production output is in full swing, the democracies of the world will be able to prove that dictatorships cannot win.

But, now, now, the time element is of supreme importance. Every plane, every other instrument of war, old and new, (which) every instrument that we can spare now, we will send overseas (.) because that is the common sense of strategy. (Applause)

The great task of this day, the deep duty (which) that rests upon each and every one of us is to move products from the assembly lines of our factories to the battle lines of democracy -- NOW!

We can have speed (and), we can have effectiveness, if we maintain our existing unity. We do not have and never will have the false unity of a people browbeaten by threats, (and) misled by propaganda. Ours is a unity (which) that is possible only among free men and women who recognize the truth and face reality with intelligence and courage.

Today, at last (,) -- today at long last -- ours is not a partial

effort. It is a total effort and that is the only way to guarantee ultimate safety.

Beginning a year ago, we started the erection of hundreds of plants; (and) we started the training of millions of men.

Then, at the moment that the aid-to-democracies bill was passed, this week, we were ready, ready to recommend the seven-billion-dollar appropriation on the basis of capacity production as now planned.

The articles themselves -- why, they cover the whole range of munitions of war and of the facilities for transporting them (.) across the seas! (Applause)

(The) That aid-to-democracies bill was agreed (to) on by both houses of the Congress (last) on Tuesday afternoon last. I signed it one half hour later. Five minutes (later) after that I approved a list of articles for immediate shipment (.); and today -- Saturday night -- many of them are on their way. (Applause) On Wednesday, I recommended an appropriation for new material to the extent of seven billion dollars; and the Congress is making patriotic speed in making the (appropriation) money available.

Here in Washington, we are thinking in terms of speed and speed now. And I hope that that watchword -- "Speed, and speed now" -- will find its way into every home in the nation.

We shall have to make sacrifices -- every one of us. The final extent of those sacrifices will depend (up)on the speed with which we act NOW!

I must tell you tonight in plain language what this undertaking means to you -- to you in your daily life.

Whether you are in the armed services; whether you are a steel worker or a stevedore; a machinist or a housewife; a farmer or a banker; a storekeeper or a manufacturer -- to all of you it will mean sacrifice in behalf

of your country and your liberties. (Applause) Yes, you will feel the impact of this gigantic effort in your daily lives. You will feel it in a way (which) that will cause, to you, many inconveniences.

You will have to be content with lower profits, lower profits from business because obviously your taxes will be higher.

You will have to work longer at your bench, or your job, or your machine (.), or your desk.

Let me make it clear that the nation is calling for the sacrifice of some privileges, (but) not for the sacrifice of fundamental rights. (Applause) And most of us will do (that) it willingly. That kind of sacrifice is for the common national protection and welfare; for our defense against the most ruthless brutality in all history; for the ultimate victory of a way of life now so violently menaced.

A half-hearted effort on our part -- that will lead to failure. This is no part-time job. The concepts of "business as usual," (and) of "normalcy," must be forgotten until the task is finished. (This is) Yes, it's an all-out effort -- and nothing short of an all-out effort will win. (Applause)

Therefore, we are (now) dedicated, from here on, to a constantly increasing tempo of production -- a production greater than we now know or have ever known before -- a production that does not stop and should not pause.

(And so,) Tonight, I am appealing to the heart and to the mind of every man and every woman within our borders who love liberty. I ask you to consider the needs of our nation and this hour, (and) to put aside all personal differences until (our) the victory is won.

The light of democracy must be kept burning. To the perpetuation

of this light, each, each of us must do his own share. The single effort of one individual may seem (very) small. But there are 130 million individuals over here. And there are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of barbarism. It is not enough for us merely to trim the wick, or polish the glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep (the) that flame alight.

There will be no divisions, no divisions of party or section or race or nationality or religion. There is not one among us who does not have a stake in the outcome of the effort in which we are now engaged.

A few weeks ago I spoke of four freedoms -- freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in his own way, freedom from want, freedom from fear. They are the ultimate stake. They may not be immediately attainable throughout the world but humanity does move toward those glorious ideals through democratic processes. And if we fail -- if democracy is superseded by slavery -- then those four freedoms, or even the mention of them, will become forbidden things. Centuries will pass before they can be revived.

By winning now, we strengthen the(ir) meaning of those freedoms, we increase the stature of mankind, we establish (and) the dignity of human life.

I have often thought that there is a vast difference between the word "loyalty" and the word "obedience". Obedience can be obtained and enforced in a dictatorship by the use of threat (and) or extortion or blackmail or it can be obtained by a failure on the part of government to tell the truth to its citizens.

Loyalty is different. It springs from the mind that is given the

facts, that retains ancient ideals and proceeds without coercion to give support to its own government.

That is true in England and in Greece and in China and in the United States, today. And in many other countries millions of men and women are praying for the return of a day when they can give that kind of loyalty.

Loyalty cannot be bought. Dollars alone will not win this war. Let us not delude ourselves as to that.

Today, nearly a million and a half American citizens are hard at work in our armed forces. The spirit -- (and) the determination of these men of our Army and Navy are worthy of the highest traditions of our country. No better men ever served under Washington or John Paul Jones or Grant or Lee or Pershing. (Applause) That is a boast, I admit -- but it is not an idle one.

Upon the national will to sacrifice and to work depends the output of our industry and our agriculture.

Upon that will, depends the survival of the vital bridge across the ocean -- the bridge of ships (which) that carry the arms and the food for those who are fighting the good fight.

Upon that will, depends our ability to aid other nations which may determine to offer resistance.

Upon that will, may depend practical assistance to people now living in nations (which) that have been overrun, should they find the opportunity to strike back in an effort to regain their liberties (.) -- and may that day come soon! (Applause)

This will of the American people will not be frustrated, either by threats from powerful enemies abroad or by small, selfish groups or individuals at home.

The determination of America must not and will not be obstructed by war profiteering.

It must not be obstructed by unnecessary strikes of workers, (applause) by short-sighted management, (applause) or by the third danger -- deliberate sabotage.

For, unless we win there will be no freedom for either management or labor.

Wise labor leaders and wise business managers will realize how necessary it is to their own existence to make common sacrifice for this great (common) cause. (Applause)

There is no longer the slightest question or doubt that the American people recognize the extreme seriousness of the present situation. That is why they have demanded, and got, a policy of unqualified, immediate, all-out aid for Britain, for Greece, for China, and for all the governments in exile whose homelands are temporarily occupied by the aggressors. (Applause)

And from now on that aid will be increased -- and yet again increased -- until total victory has been won. (Applause)

The British are stronger than ever in the magnificent morale (which) that has enabled them to endure all the dark days and the shattered nights of the past ten months. They have the full support and help of Canada, (and) of the other Dominions, of the rest of their Empire, and, and the full aid and support of non-British people throughout the world who still think in terms of the great freedoms. (Applause)

The British people are braced for invasion whenever (the) such attempt may come -- tomorrow -- next week -- next month.

In this historic crisis, Britain is blessed with a brilliant and great leader in Winston Churchill. (Applause) But, knowing him, no one knows

better than Mr. Churchill himself, that it is not alone his stirring words and valiant deeds (which) that give the British their superb morale. The essence of that morale is in the masses of plain people who are completely clear in their minds about the one essential fact -- that they would rather die as free men than live as slaves. (Applause)

These plain people -- civilians as well as soldiers and sailors and airmen -- women and girls as well as men and boys -- they are fighting in the front line of civilization at this moment, and they are holding that line with a fortitude (which) that will forever be the pride and the inspiration of all free men on every continent, (and) on every isle (island) of the sea.

The British people and their Grecian allies need ships. From America, they will get ships. (Applause)

They need planes. From America, they will get planes. (Applause)

Yes, from America they need food. From America, they will get food. (Applause)

They need tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. From America, they will get tanks and guns and ammunition and supplies of all kinds. (Applause)

China likewise expresses the magnificent will of millions of plain people to resist the dismemberment of their historic nation. China, through the generalissimo, Chiang Kai-Shek, asks our help. America has said that China shall have our help. (Applause)

And so our country is going to be what our people have proclaimed it must be -- the arsenal of democracy.

Our country is going to play its full part.

And when -- no, I didn't say if, I said when -- dictatorships disintegrate -- and pray God that will be sooner than any of us now dare(s) to

hope (applause) -- then our country must continue to play its great part in the period of world reconstruction (.) for the good of humanity.

We believe that the rallying cry of the dictators, their boasting about a master-race, will prove to be pure stuff and nonsense. (laughter) There never has been, there isn't now, and there never will be, any race of people on the earth fit to serve as masters over their fellowmen. (Applause)

The world has no use for any nation which, because of size or because of military might, asserts the right to goosestep to world power over the bodies of other nations or other races. We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood.

We believe that the men and women of such nations, no matter what size, can, through the processes of peace, serve themselves and serve the world by protecting the common man's security; improve the standards of healthful living; provide markets for manufacture and for agriculture. Through that kind of peaceful service every nation can increase its happiness, banish the terrors of war, and abandon man's inhumanity to man.

Never, in all our history, never in all our history have Americans faced a job so well worth while. May it be said of us in the days to come that our children and our children's children rise up and call us blessed. (Prolonged applause)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the U. S. S. POTOMAC,
Port Everglades, Florida,
March 29, 1941.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I am sitting in the little cabin of the little ship "POTOMAC", in the harbor of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, after a day of sunshine out in the Gulf Stream. That I cannot in person attend one of the many Jackson Day dinners I regret; but it is good that you are again celebrating the memory of a great American leader who believed, fanatically almost, in the principles of a democracy based on the freedom of the ballot box.

I try to get away a couple of times a year on these short trips on salt water. In Washington, as you know, the working day of the Presidency in these times averages about fifteen hours, and even when I go to Hyde Park or to Warm Springs, the White House office, the callers, the visitors and the telephones all follow me. But at sea the radio messages and the occasional pouch of mail reduce official work to not more than two or three hours a day.

So there is a chance for a bit of sunshine or a wetted line, or a biography or a detective story or even a nap after lunch. But above all there is the opportunity for thinking things through -- for differentiating between principles and mere methods, between the really big things of life and those other things of the moment that may seem all important today and yet are forgotten by the world in a month. That means that if today the fellow next to you catches a bigger fish than you do, or vice versa as sometimes happens, you don't lie awake at night thinking about it.

Yes, you recapture your philosophy. But in so doing you do not "sit down" mentally and become a fatalist. You still seek peace of mind

and peace of spirit -- but you come to realize that you have to work overtime nowadays, and work harder than ever before in your life to make that kind of peace possible later on. It is a fact that I think we all recognize that if we sit down now, we may get run over later. And if our kind of civilization gets run over, the kind of peace that we seek will become a mere unattainable dream.

And so that is why, in the comparative quiet of this week, I have become more than ever clear that the time calls for courage and more courage -- calls for action and more action.

That is why it is appropriate today to honor the name of Andrew Jackson -- because he was first and foremost a great American, who placed his devotion to his country above adherence to party, and provided an ever-living symbol of the rugged, courageous spirit of our people.

Responsibility lay heavily on the shoulders of Andrew Jackson.

In his day the threat to the Federal Union came from within. It was a sectional threat. More than that, it was a threat that came from some of Jackson's own people -- indeed, from some members of his own party. It was inspired by refusal to recognize the sovereign authority of the United States. And by his actions Jackson placed himself far above both section and party.

In our own day the threat to our Union and to our democracy is not a sectional one. Far from it, it comes from a great part of the world that surrounds us, that draws more tightly around us, day by day.

Again, to do this job, we Americans -- nearly all of us -- have risen above any considerations of party politics.

Long before Jackson became President, the two-party system of government had become firmly entrenched as a basic principle of American

political life. It had shown its value, it had shown its value as a method of obtaining free and open discussion of public issues, formulating new policies to meet new conditions, fixing responsibility in affairs of government as an indispensable part of our conception of free elections.

Now the dictators of some lands cannot seem to realize that here in America our people can maintain two parties, and at the same time maintain an inviolate and indivisible nation. The totalitarian mentality is too narrow to comprehend the greatness of a people who can be divided in party allegiance at election time, but remain united in devotion to their country and to the ideals of democracy at all times.

In dictatorships there can be no party divisions. For all men must think as they are told, speak as they are told, write as they are told, live -- and die as they are told. In those countries the nation is not above the party, as with us; the party is above the nation; the party is the nation.

Every common man and woman is forced to walk the straight and narrow path of the party line, not strictly, not strictly speaking a party line, but rather a line drawn by the dictator himself, who owns the party.

In our country, disagreements among us are expressed in the polling place. In the dictatorships, disagreements are suppressed in the concentration camp.

Last year we held an American election, in which the people -- Democrats, Republicans, Independents and others -- by secret ballot, and without prodding by the bayonets of storm troopers, voted for their public officers -- local, and state, and national.

And we are determined so to act that Americans will go on year after year, holding free elections.

For all of the great freedoms that form the basis of our American democracy are a part and a parcel of that concept of free elections, with free expression of political choice between candidates of political parties. For such elections guarantee that there can be no possibility of stifling freedom of speech, or freedom of the press, or freedom of the air, or freedom of worship.

These are the eternal principles that are now being threatened by the alliance of dictator nations.

Ours is the responsibility of defending these principles that have come to us as our national heritage. Ours is the responsibility of passing them on -- not only intact today, but stronger than ever, to all of the generations yet to come.

We Americans realize how tenuous would be the existence of our party system, our freedom of elections, our freedom of living, if the doctrines of dictatorship were to prevail. For if they were to prevail, it would not be in Europe alone.

The history of nations betrayed during the past year, the history of nations conquered during the past year, should show us and should show the rest of the world what it means to live in a world organized and ruled by the Gestapo.

Let us ask ourselves, frankly and fearlessly: How long could we maintain our ancient liberties under these terrible conditions? How soon would we have to accept the doctrine that one must fight fire with fire?

How long would it be possible to maintain a semblance of our two-party system, with free elections, in a Nazi-dominated world?

How soon would we decide to imitate Nazi-ism and abandon our two-party system, and regiment our people into one party -- which would cer-

tainly be neither Democratic nor Republican?

Should that evil time come, we would no longer hold these friendly gatherings, either on Jackson Day or on Lincoln Day.

We Americans have already weighed these questions carefully and thoughtfully. We Americans have announced our determination that, with all our resources and all our power, we shall help those who block the dictators in their march toward domination of the world.

The decision we have reached is not a partisan decision. The leader of the Republican party himself -- Mr. Wendell Willkie -- in word and in action, is showing what patriotic Americans mean by rising above partisanship and rallying to the common cause. And now that the plain people of America have spoken their determination, Republicans and Democrats in the Congress and out of the Congress are patriotically cooperating to make that determination take positive forms.

The enemies of democracy are now trying, by every means, to destroy our unity. The chief weapon they now use against us is propaganda -- propaganda that appeals to selfishness, that propaganda comes in ever increasing quantities, with ever increasing violence, from across the seas. And it is disseminated within our own borders by agents or, equally menacing, by innocent dupes of foreign powers.

It is directed against all Americans -- Republican and Democratic -- farmers and bankers -- employers and employees.

Propagandists, defeatists and dupes, protected as they are by our fundamental civil liberties, have been preaching, and are still preaching, the ungodly gospel of fear. They use insinuation and falsehood. They have tried to shatter the confidence of Americans in their Government and in one another.

We have seen what has happened to the great industrialists of Germany for example, industrialists who supported the Nazi movement, and then received their reward in Nazi concentration camps or in death.

We have seen how the workers of France were betrayed by their so-called champions, the Communists. For no matter what Communist lips have said, their actions have proved that in their hearts they care nothing for the real rights of free labor.

The agents of Nazi-ism and those who unwittingly help them are still trying to play both ends against the middle. They have attempted to exploit the natural love of our people for peace. They have represented themselves as pacifists, when actually they are serving the most brutal war-mongers of all time. They have preached "Peace -- Peace!" in the same way that the devil can speciously quote the Scriptures.

Of course, the purpose of all this has been to spread terror among us. But the effect of it has been only to fortify our determination.

When Abraham Lincoln became President, he had to face the awful reality of a war between the states. On July 4, 1861, in his first Message to the Congress, he presented this vital question:

"Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?"

Lincoln answered that question as Jackson had answered it before -- not by words, but by deeds. And America still marches on.

We of today have been presented with that same question. We too are answering it by deeds. Our well considered philosophy for the attainment of peace comes not from weakness but -- everlastingly -- from the courage of America.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Easter Monday
April 14, 1941, 2.15 P.M.

(The President spoke to the crowds on the White House Lawn, on an unusually beautiful day.)

(As the President came out on the South Portico, the crowds began to cheer and applaud, which the President acknowledged by waving his hand.)

I am very glad to welcome all of you here today on another of these occasions, which through a great many years have made Easter Monday quite an event for the Nation's Capital.

It so happens that this year we have three things -- all coming at the same time. We have Easter Monday and egg-rolling on the White House lawn, and it coincides this year with the Blossom Festival which is known all over the country. And number three, but by no means the least important, it coincides with the opening of the baseball season. (laughter, cheers and hand-clapping)

So it is good to see all of you young people here. I am not at all sure that the grown-up people don't enjoy this party just as much as the young people. (laughter)

And so I wish very much that I could be down there on the lawn with all of you, and I hope you have an awfully good time. (cheers, hand-clapping and laughter)

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the White House
In Connection with the Defense Savings Campaign
April 30, 1941, 9.40 P.M., E.S.T.

SECRETARY MORGENTHAU, POSTMASTER GENERAL WALKER, MY FELLOW AMERICANS EVERYWHERE:

One thought is uppermost in my mind as I make grateful acknowledgment of this dual honor. It is that in reserving the first Defense Savings Bond and the first Defense Postal Savings Stamps in the name of the President, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster General have given emphasis to the national character of (the) this Defense Savings Campaign. This character of the campaign is national in the best sense of the word -- for it is going to reach down, we hope, to the individual and the family in every community, and on every farm, in every state and every possession of the United States.

It is national and it is homey at the same time. For example, I am buying not one stamp but (twenty) ten stamps each to go into a little book(s) for each of my ten grandchildren. And the first (Defense) Savings Bond is being made out in the name of Mrs. Roosevelt as beneficiary.

It is fitting that the President in his purchases should be (the) a symbol -- a sort of a symbol -- of the determination of all the people to save and sacrifice in defense of democracy.

In (the) a larger sense, this first Defense Bond and these first Defense Stamps (reserved) sold to the President, constitute tangible evidence of a partnership -- a partnership between all of the people and their Government -- entered into to safeguard and (to) perpetuate all of those precious freedoms which government guarantees. In this time of national peril what we all must realize is that the United States Government is you and I and all

the other families next door all the way across the country and back again. It is one great partnership.

This evening we are giving special thought to the financial structure of our partnership. We know that we are engaged in an all-out effort to perpetuate democracy in the New World by helping it to be safe and by aiding embattled democracy in the Old World and everywhere else. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, America (is in) today at this time of the year happens to be in the full beauty of glorious springtime. And we have eyes to see the beauty of our country this spring as we never saw it in any spring before, in the memory of most of us.

For a great many people are appreciating our blessings all the more when they realize what blessings so many other millions of people have lost this spring and last spring -- so many millions of people who hoped and prayed and even assumed -- (taking) even took it for granted that fate -- some kind fate -- would let them live on as they had always lived.

In the few words (which) that I am speaking to my fellow countrymen tonight, I desire above all else to emphasize the thought that in just such measure as we support our Government will (it) our Government be strong and effective and safe.

Defenses that were adequate ten years ago are today a broken reed. New machines in the air, on the land and on the sea have created a revolution in the conduct of offensive war, and therefore of necessity in the conduct of (and) defensive war.

Nations and lands that were safe ten years ago by virtue of the mere fact of distance -- the mere fact of miles, countries thousands of miles -- away from possible aggression have today been overrun by mechanized conquerors. And so distance is no longer a guarantee of safety.

Your Government, therefore, is arming, factories spring up, production multiplies -- a country-wide unanimous effort of planning and of work.

And so at this time we add another call -- a frank and clear appeal for financial support to pay for our arming, and to pay for the American existence of later generations.

With jobs more plentiful and wages higher, slight sacrifice here and there, the omission of a few luxuries (there), will swell the coffers of our Federal Treasury. The outward and the visible tokens of partnership through sacrifice will be the possession of (those) these Defense Bonds and Defense Savings Stamps which are, at the same time, a guarantee of our future security.

Yes, your Government (asks) is asking that you make this sacrifice. But is it a sacrifice? Is it a sacrifice for us to give dollars when more than a million of our finest young men have been withdrawn from civilian life to accept the discipline of military life in defense of our country? No, I do not think that sacrifice is (not) the word. This Defense Savings Program is rather a privilege and an opportunity -- an opportunity to share in the defense of all the things we cherish against the threat that is made against them. We must fight this threat wherever it appears; and it can be found at the threshold of every home in America.

And so my fellow Americans, I ask you to demonstrate again your faith in America by joining me in investing in the new Defense Savings Bonds and Stamps. I know you will help.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
MADE UPON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION
OF THE
BIRTHPLACE OF FORMER PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON
STAUNTON, VIRGINIA, MAY 4, 1941

MRS. WILSON, MAYOR COTTRELL, GOVERNOR PRICE, FRIENDS OF WOODROW
WILSON:

We are meeting here today to dedicate another (a) new shrine, a new shrine of freedom. By this action we are bearing true witness to the faith that is in us -- a simple faith in the freedom of democracy in the world.

It is the kind of faith for which we have fought before -- for the existence of which we are ever ready to fight again.
(applause)

I can think of no more fitting place in all the land for Americans to pledge anew their faith in the democratic way of life than at the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson. (applause) In this quiet Presbyterian manse first saw the light of day one whose whole active life was dedicated to the cause of freedom, to the conquest of fear and to the liberation of the eternal spirit of man from every thralldom imposed by fear (force).

Woodrow Wilson was fortunate in his birthplace (and).
He was favored in his parentage and his environment. I like the

old phrase that this was a home of plain living and high thinking and wherever the family moved in the migrations incident to the religious calling of the father, they carried with them ideals (which), ideals that put faith in spiritual values, put them in spiritual values above every material consideration.

In the tragic conflict which the world witnesses today and which threatens everything that we have most loved as a free people, we see more clearly than ever before the unyielding strength of things of the spirit. All of recorded history bears witness that the human race has made true advancement only as it has appreciated spiritual values. Those unhappy peoples who have placed their sole reliance on the sword have inevitably perished by the sword in the end. (applause)

No, physical strength can never permanently withstand the impact of spiritual force. (applause)

And Woodrow Wilson's whole career was a triumph of the spiritual over the sordid forces of brute strength. Under his leadership this country made as we know very great spiritual progress.

Of Woodrow Wilson this can be said, that in a time when world councils were dominated by material considerations of greed and of gain and of revenge he beheld the vision splendid. That selfish men could not share his vision of a world emancipated from the shackles of force and the arbitrament of the sword in no wise detracts from its splendor. Rather does the indifference of hostile contemporaries enhance the beauty of the vision which he

sought to rebuild.

He will be held in everlasting remembrance, everlasting remembrance by those who knew him and those who came after him, as a statesman who, when other men sought revenge and material gain, strove to bring nearer the day which should see the emancipation of conscience from power and the substitution of freedom for force in the government of the world.

It is good for America that this house in which Woodrow Wilson was born will be preserved for us and for many future generations. In this Valley of Virginia it will remind America that his ideals of freedom were wide enough to support democracy in all the world. (applause) He taught--and let's never forget it--he taught that democracy could not survive in isolation. We applaud his judgment (and) we applaud his faith. (applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the East Room of the White House
May 27, 1941, 9.30 P.M., E.S.T.
Proclaiming an Unlimited National Emergency

MY FELLOW AMERICANS OF ALL THE AMERICAS; MY FRIENDS:

I am speaking tonight from the White House in the presence of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, the Canadian Minister, and their families. The members of this Board are the Ambassadors and Ministers of the American Republics in Washington. It is appropriate that I do this for now, as never before, the unity of the American Republics is of supreme importance to each and every one of us and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. Our future -- our future independence is bound up with the future independence of all of our sister Republics.

The pressing problems that confront us are military and naval problems. We cannot afford to approach them from the point of view of wishful thinkers or sentimentalists. What we face is cold, hard fact.

The first and fundamental fact is that what started as a European war has developed, as the Nazis always intended it should develop, into a world war for world domination.

Adolf Hitler never considered the domination of Europe as an end in itself. European conquest was but a step toward ultimate goals in all the other continents. It is unmistakably apparent to all of us that, unless the advance of Hitlerism is forcibly checked now, the Western Hemisphere will be within range of the Nazi weapons of destruction.

For our own defense we have accordingly undertaken certain (obviously) obvious necessary measures:

First, we have joined in concluding a series of agreements with all the other American Republics. This further solidified our hemisphere against the common danger.

And then, a year ago, we launched, and are successfully carrying out, the largest armament production program we have ever undertaken.

We have added substantially to our splendid Navy, and we have mustered our manpower to build up a new Army which is already worthy of the highest traditions of our military service.

We instituted a policy of aid for the democracies -- the nations which have fought for the continuation of human liberties.

This policy had its origin in the first month of the war, when I urged upon the Congress repeal of the arms embargo provisions in the old Neutrality Law, and in that Message of September, 1939, I said, "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead."

In the subsequent months, the shadows (deepened) did deepen and (lengthened) lengthen. And the night spread over Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France.

In June, 1940, Britain stood alone, faced by the same machine of terror which had overwhelmed her allies. Our Government rushed arms to meet her desperate needs.

In September, 1940, an agreement was completed with Great

Britain for the trade of fifty destroyers for eight important off-shore bases.

And in March, 1941, this year, the Congress passed the Lend-Lease Bill and an appropriation of seven billion dollars to implement it. This law realistically provided for material aid "for the government of any country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States."

Our whole program of aid for the democracies has been based on hard-headed concern for our own security and for the kind of safe and civilized world in which we wish to live. Every dollar of material that we send helps to keep the dictators away from our own hemisphere, and every day that they are held off gives us time to build more guns and tanks and planes and ships.

We have made no pretense about our own self-interest in this aid. Great Britain understands it -- and so does Nazi Germany.

And now -- after a year -- Britain still fights gallantly, on a "far-flung battle line." We have doubled and redoubled our vast production, increasing, month by month, our material supply of the tools of war for ourselves and for Britain and for China -- and eventually for all the democracies.

The supply of these tools will not fail -- it will increase.

With greatly augmented strength, the United States and the other American Republics now chart their course in the situation of today.

Your Government knows what terms Hitler, if victorious, would impose. They are, indeed, the only terms on which he would accept a so-called "negotiated" peace.

And, under those terms, Germany would literally parcel out the world -- hoisting the swastika itself over vast territories and populations, and setting up puppet governments of its own choosing, wholly subject to the will and the policy of a conqueror.

To the people of the Americas, a triumphant Hitler would say, as he said after the seizure of Austria, and as he said after Munich, and as he said after the seizure of Czechoslovakia: "I am now completely satisfied. This is the last territorial readjustment I will seek." And he would of course add: "All we want is peace and friendship, and profitable trade relations with you in the New World."

(And) Were any of us in the Americas so incredibly simple and forgetful as to accept those honeyed words, what would then happen?

Those in the New World who were seeking profits would be urging that all that the dictatorships desired was "peace." They would oppose toil and taxes for more American armament. And meanwhile, the dictatorships would be forcing the enslaved peoples of their Old World conquests into a system they are even now organizing -- to build -- to build a naval and air force intended to gain and hold and be master of the Atlantic and the Pacific as well.

They would fasten an economic stranglehold upon our several nations. Quislings would be found to subvert the governments in our Republics; and the Nazis would back their fifth columns with invasion, if necessary.

No, I am not speculating about all this. I merely repeat what is already in the Nazi book of world conquest. They plan to treat the Latin American nations as they are now treating the Balkans.

They plan then to strangle the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada.

The American laborer would have to compete with slave labor in the rest of the world. Minimum wages, maximum hours? Nonsense! Wages and hours (would be) fixed by Hitler. The dignity and power and standard of living of the American worker and farmer would be gone. Trade unions would become historic(al) relics, and collective bargaining a joke.

Farm income? What happens to all farm surpluses without any foreign trade? The American farmer would get for his products exactly what Hitler wanted to give. (He would) The farmer would face obvious disaster and complete regimentation.

Tariff walls - Chinese walls of isolation - would be futile. Freedom to trade is essential to our economic life. We do not eat all the food we (can) produce; and we do not burn all the oil we can pump; we do not use all the goods we can manufacture. It would not be an American wall to keep Nazi goods out; it would be a Nazi wall to keep us in.

The whole fabric of working life as we know it -- business and manufacturing, mining and agriculture -- all would be mangled and crippled under such a system. Yet to maintain even that crippled independence would require permanent conscription of our manpower; it would curtail the funds we could spend on education, on housing, on public works, on flood control, on health and, instead, we should be permanently pouring our resources into armaments; and, year in and year out, standing day and night watch against the destruction of our cities.

Yes, even our right of worship would be threatened. The Nazi world does not recognize any God except Hitler; for the Nazis are as ruthless as the Communists in the denial of God. What place has religion which preaches the dignity of the human being, of the majesty of the human soul, in a world where moral standards are measured by treachery and bribery and Fifth Columnists? Will our children, too, wander off, goose-stepping in search of new gods?

We do not accept, (and) we will not permit, this Nazi "shape of things to come." It will never be forced upon us, if we act in this present crisis with the wisdom and the courage which have distinguished our country in all the crises of the past.

Today, the Nazis have taken military possession of the greater part of Europe. In Africa they have occupied Tripoli and Libya, and they are threatening Egypt, the Suez Canal, and the Near East. But their plans do not stop there, for the Indian Ocean is the gateway to the (East) farther East.

They also have the armed power at any moment to occupy Spain and Portugal; and that threat extends not only to French North Africa and the western end of the Mediterranean Sea, (but) it extends also to the Atlantic fortress of Dakar, and to the island outposts of the New World -- the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

Yes, these (The) Cape Verde Islands are only seven hours distance from Brazil by bomber or troop-carrying planes. They dominate shipping routes to and from the South Atlantic.

The war is approaching the brink of the Western Hemisphere itself. It is coming very close to home.

Control or occupation by Nazi forces of any of the islands of the Atlantic would jeopardize the immediate safety of portions of North and South America, and of the island possessions of the United States, and, therefore, of the ultimate safety of the continental United States itself.

Hitler's plan of world domination would be near its accomplishment today, were it not for two factors: One is the epic resistance of Britain, her colonies, and the great Dominions, fighting not only to maintain the existence of the Island of Britain, but also to hold the Near East and Africa. The other is the magnificent defense of China, which will, I have reason to believe, increase in strength. And all of these, together, (prevent) are preventing the Axis from winning control of the seas by ships and aircraft.

The Axis Powers can never achieve their objective of world domination unless they first obtain control of the seas. (This) That is their supreme purpose today; and to achieve it, they must capture Great Britain.

They could then have the power to dictate to the Western Hemisphere. No spurious argument, no appeal to sentiment, (and) no false pledges like those given by Hitler at Munich, can deceive the American people into believing that he and his Axis partners would not, with Britain defeated, close in relentlessly on this hemisphere of ours.

But if the Axis Powers fail to gain control of the seas, then they are certainly defeated. Their dreams of world domination will then go by the board; and the criminal leaders who started this

war will suffer inevitable disaster.

Both they and their people know this -- and they and their people are afraid. That is why they are risking everything they have, conducting desperate attempts to break through to the command of the ocean. Once they are limited to a continuing land war, their cruel forces of occupation will be unable to keep their heel on the necks of the millions of innocent, oppressed peoples on the Continent of Europe; and in the end, their whole structure will break into little pieces. And let us remember, the wider the Nazi land effort, the greater (the danger) is their ultimate danger.

We do not forget the silenced peoples. The masters of Germany -- those, at least, who have not been assassinated or escaped to free soil -- have marked these silenced peoples and their children's children for slavery. But those people -- spiritually unconquered: Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians, Frenchmen, Greeks, Southern Slavs -- yes, even those Italians and Germans who themselves have been enslaved -- will prove to be a powerful force in (disrupting) the final disruption of the Nazi system.

(Yes,) All freedom -- meaning freedom to live, and not freedom to conquer and subjugate other peoples -- depends on freedom of the seas. All of American history -- North, Central and South American history -- has been inevitably tied up with those words, "freedom of the seas."

Since 1799, 142 years ago, when our infant Navy made the West Indies and the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico safe for American ships, since 1804 and 1805 when we made all peaceful commerce safe from the depredations of the Barbary pirates; since the War of 1812,

which was fought for the preservation of sailors' rights; since 1867, when our sea power made it possible for the Mexicans to expel the French Army of Louis Napoleon, we have striven and fought in defense of freedom of the seas -- freedom of the seas for our own shipping, for the commerce of our sister Republics, for the right of all nations to use the highways of world trade -- and for our own safety.

During the first World War we were able to escort merchant ships by the use of small cruisers and gunboats and destroyers; and (this) that type, (of) called a convoy, was effective against submarines. In this second World War, however, the problem is greater. It is different because the attack on the freedom of the seas is now fourfold: first -- the improved submarine; second -- the much greater use of the heavily armed raiding cruiser or the hit-and-run battleship; third, -- the bombing airplane, which is capable of destroying merchant ships seven or eight hundred miles from its nearest base; and fourth -- the destruction of merchant ships in those ports of the world (which) that are accessible to bombing attack.

The battle of the Atlantic now extends from the icy waters of the North Pole to the frozen continent of the Antarctic. Throughout this huge area, there have been sinkings of merchant ships in alarming and increasing numbers by Nazi raiders or submarines. There have been sinkings even of ships carrying neutral flags. There have been sinkings in the South Atlantic, off West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands; between the Azores and the islands off the American coast; and between Greenland and Iceland. Great numbers of these sinkings have been actually within the waters of the Western Hemisphere itself.

The blunt truth (is) of this seems to be this -- and I reveal this with the full knowledge of the British Government: the present rate of Nazi sinkings of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them; it is more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today.

We can answer this peril by two simultaneous measures: first, by speeding up and increasing our own great shipbuilding program; and second, by helping to cut down the losses on the high seas.

Attacks on shipping off the very shores of land which we are determined to protect, present an actual military danger to the Americas. And that danger has recently been heavily underlined by the presence in Western Hemisphere waters of a Nazi battleship of great striking power.

You remember that most of the supplies for Britain go by a northerly route, which comes close to Greenland and the nearby island of Iceland. Germany's heaviest attack is on that route. Nazi occupation of Iceland or bases in Greenland would bring the war close to our own continental shores; because those places (they) are stepping-stones to Labrador and Newfoundland, to Nova Scotia, (and) yes, to the northern United States itself, including the great industrial centers of the north, the east and the middle west.

Equally, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands, if occupied or controlled by Germany, would directly endanger the freedom of the Atlantic and our own American physical safety. Under German domination ^(they) those islands would become bases for submarines, warships, and airplanes raiding the waters (which) that lie immediately off our

own coasts and attacking the shipping in the South Atlantic. They would provide a springboard for actual attack against the integrity and the independence of Brazil and her neighboring Republics.

I have said on many occasions that the United States is mustering its men and its resources only for purposes of defense -- only to repel attack. I repeat that statement now. But we must be realistic when we use the word "attack"; we have to relate it to the lightning speed of modern warfare.

Some people seem to think that we are not attacked until bombs actually drop in the streets of (on) New York or San Francisco or New Orleans or Chicago. But they are simply shutting their eyes to the lesson that we must learn from the fate of every nation that the Nazis have conquered.

The attack on Czechoslovakia began with the conquest of Austria. The attack on Norway began with the occupation of Denmark. The attack on Greece began with occupation of Albania and Bulgaria. The attack on the Suez Canal began with the invasion of the Balkans and North Africa and the attack on the United States can begin with the domination of any base which menaces our security -- north or south.

Nobody can foretell tonight just when the acts of the dictators will ripen into attack on this hemisphere and us. But we know enough by now to realize that it would be suicide to wait until they are in our front yard.

When your enemy comes at you in a tank or a bombing plane, if you hold your fire until you see the whites of his eyes, you will never know what hit you. Our Bunker Hill of tomorrow may be several

thousand miles from Boston, Massachusetts.

Anyone with an Atlas, (and) anyone with a reasonable knowledge of the sudden striking force of modern war, knows that it is stupid to wait until a probable enemy has gained a foothold from which to attack. Old-fashioned common sense calls for the use of a strategy (which) that will prevent such an enemy from gaining a foothold in the first place.

We have, accordingly, extended our patrol in north and south Atlantic waters. We are steadily adding more and more ships and planes to that patrol. It is well known that the strength of the Atlantic Fleet has been greatly increased during the past year, and that it is constantly being built up.

These ships and planes warn of the presence of attacking raiders, on the sea, under the sea, and above the sea. The danger from these raiders is, of course, greatly lessened if their location is definitely known. We are thus being forewarned. (and) We shall be on our guard against efforts to establish Nazi bases closer to our Hemisphere.

The deadly facts of war compel nations, for simple (self-) preservation, to make stern choices. It does not make sense, for instance, to say, "I believe in the defense of all the Western Hemisphere," and in the next breath to say, "I will not fight for that defense until the enemy has landed on our shores." (And) If we believe in the independence and the integrity of the Americas, we must be willing to fight, to fight to defend them just as much as we would (to) fight for the safety of our own homes.

It is time for us to realize that the safety of American homes even in the center of this our own country has a very definite relationship to the continued safety of homes in Nova Scotia or Trinidad or Brazil.

Our national policy today, therefore, is this:

First, we shall actively resist wherever necessary, and with all our resources, every attempt by Hitler to extend his Nazi domination to the Western Hemisphere, or to threaten it. We shall actively resist his every attempt to gain control of the seas. We insist upon the vital importance of keeping Hitlerism away from any point in the world which could be used (and) or would be used as a base of attack against the Americas.

(Second) Secondly, from the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who, with Britain, are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent with force of arms. Our patrols are helping now to insure delivery of the needed supplies to Britain. All additional measures necessary to deliver the goods will be taken. Any and all further methods or combination of methods, which can or should be utilized, are being devised by our military and naval technicians, who, with me, will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed.

I say that the delivery of needed supplies to Britain is imperative. I say that this can be done; it must be done; and it will be done.

To the other American nations -- twenty Republics and the Dominion of Canada -- I say this: the United States does not merely

propose these purposes, but is actively engaged today in carrying them out.

And I say to them further: you may disregard those few citizens of the United States who contend that we are disunited and cannot act.

There are some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price -- lest we lose our liberties forever. To them I say this: never in the history of the world has a nation lost its democracy by a successful struggle to defend its democracy. We must not be defeated by the fear of the very danger which we are preparing to resist. Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but (it) our freedom would never survive surrender. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

There is, of course, a small group of sincere, patriotic men and women whose real passion for peace has shut their eyes to the ugly realities of international banditry and to the need to resist it at all costs. I am sure they are embarrassed by the sinister support they are receiving from the enemies of democracy in our midst -- the Bundists, (and) the Fascists, and Communists, and every group devoted to bigotry and racial and religious intolerance. It is no mere coincidence that all the arguments put forward by these enemies of democracy -- all their attempts to confuse and divide our people and to destroy public confidence in (our) Government -- all their defeatist forebodings that Britain and democracy are already beaten -- all their selfish promises that we can "do business" with Hitler -- all of these are but echoes of the words that have been poured out from the Axis bureaus of propaganda. Those same words have been used before in other

countries -- to scare them, to divide them, to soften them up. Invariably, those same words have formed the advance guard of physical attack.

Your Government has the right to expect of all citizens that they take (loyal) part in the common work of our common defense -- take loyal part from this moment forward.

I have recently set up the machinery for civilian defense. It will rapidly organize, locality by locality. It will depend on the organized effort of men and women everywhere. All will have opportunities and responsibilities to fulfill.

Defense today means more than merely fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military; it means using every available resource; it means enlarging every useful plant. It means the use of a greater American common sense in discarding rumor and distorted statement. It means recognizing, for what they are, racketeers and fifth columnists, (who are) the incendiary bombs in this country of the moment.

All of us know that we have made very great social progress in recent years. We propose to maintain that progress and strengthen it. When the nation is threatened from without, however, as it is today, the actual production and transportation of the machinery of defense must not be interrupted by disputes between capital and capital, labor and labor, or capital and labor. The future of all free enterprise -- of capital and labor alike -- is at stake.

This is no time for capital to make, or be allowed to retain, excess profits. Articles of defense must have undisputed right of way

in every industrial plant in the country.

A nationwide machinery for conciliation and mediation of industrial disputes has been set up. That machinery must be used promptly -- and without stoppage of work. Collective bargaining will be retained, but the American people expect that impartial recommendations of our Government conciliation and mediation services will be followed both by capital and by labor.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens expect their Government to see that the tools of defense are built; and for the very purpose of preserving the democratic safeguards of both labor and management, this Government is determined to use all of its power to express the will of its people, and to prevent interference with the production of materials essential to our nation's security.

Today the whole world is divided, divided between human slavery and human freedom -- between pagan brutality and the Christian ideal.

We choose human freedom -- which is the Christian ideal.

No one of us can waver for a moment in his courage or his faith.

We will not accept a Hitler dominated world. And we will not accept a world, like the post-war world of the 1920's, in which the seeds of Hitlerism can again be planted and allowed to grow.

We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression -- freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- freedom from want -- and freedom from (terrorism) terror.

Is such a world impossible of attainment?

Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation and every other milestone in human progress -- all were ideals which seemed impossible of attainment -- and yet they were attained.

As a military force, we were weak when we established our independence, but we successfully stood off tyrants, powerful in their day, tyrants who are now lost in the dust of history.

Odds meant nothing to us then. Shall we now, with all our potential strength, hesitate to take every single measure necessary to maintain our American liberties?

Our people and our Government will not hesitate to meet that challenge.

As the President of a united and determined people, I say solemnly:

We reassert the ancient American doctrine of freedom of the seas.

We reassert the solidarity of the twenty-one American Republics and the Dominion of Canada in the preservation of the independence of the hemisphere.

We have pledged material support to the other democracies of the world -- and we will fulfill that pledge.

We in the Americas will decide for ourselves whether, and when, and where, our American interests are attacked or our security threatened.

We are placing our armed forces in strategic military position.

We will not hesitate to use our armed forces to repel attack.

We reassert our abiding faith in the vitality of our constitutional republic as a perpetual home of freedom, of tolerance, and of devotion to the word of God.

Therefore, with profound consciousness of my responsibilities to my countrymen and to my country's cause, I have tonight issued a proclamation that an unlimited national emergency exists and requires the strengthening of our defense to the extreme limit of our national power and authority.

The nation will expect all individuals and all groups to play their full parts, without stint, and without selfishness, and without doubt that our democracy will triumphantly survive.

I repeat the words of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence -- that little band of patriots, fighting long ago against overwhelming odds, but certain, as (are we) we are now, of ultimate victory: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." (Warm applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION OF THE
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY,
HYDE PARK, N. Y.,
JUNE 30, 1941

MR. WALKER, DR. CONNOR:

It seems to me that the dedication of a library is in itself an act of faith, to bring together the records of the past and to house them in buildings where they will be preserved for the use of men (living in the future,) and women in the future. A (a) nation must believe in -- in three things.

It must believe in the past.

It must believe in the future.

It must, above all, believe in the capacity of its own people so to learn from the past that they can gain in judgment (for the creation of the) in creating their own future. ✓

Among democracies, I think through all the recorded history of the world, the building of permanent institutions like libraries and museums for the use of all the people (flourishes), it has been among democracies that such building has flourished. And that is especially true in our own land, (for) because we believe that people (should) ought to work out for themselves, and through their own study, the determination of their best interest rather than (accept such) to take another kind of course, rather than to accept such so-called information as may be handed out to them by certain types of self-constituted leaders who decide what is best for them.

And so it is in keeping with the well considered trend (in) of these difficult days that we are distributing our own historical

collections more widely than ever before throughout the length and breadth of our land. From the point of view of (the) their safety -- the physical safety of our records, it is (wiser that they be not), it seems to us in later times to be wiser that these records should not be too greatly concentrated. And from the point of view of accessibility of these records, greatly concentrated in any one place in the United States, modern methods (make) that we are accustomed to now make study and dissemination (practicable) of these records in many places possible for the modern historian.

This particular Library is but one of many new libraries. And so, because it happens to be a national one, I as (As) President have the privilege of accepting (I accept) this newest house in which (the) peoples records (is) are preserved -- public papers and collections (which) that refer to our own (one) period (in our) of history.

And this (This) latest addition to the archives of America is dedicated at a moment when government of the people by themselves is (everywhere) being attacked everywhere.

It is, therefore, proof -- if any proof is needed -- that our confidence in the future of democracy has not diminished in this nation and will not diminish. (Applause)

As all of you know into this Library there has gone, and will continue to go, the interest and loving care of a great many people. Most of you who are here today are old friends and neighbors of mine -- friends and neighbors throughout the years. And so all (All) of you, my friends and neighbors, are in a sense Trustees of (the) this Library (in the future) through the years to come.

We hope that millions of our citizens from every part of the

land will be glad that what we do today makes available to future Americans the story of what we have lived and are living in our lives, and what we are living today, and what we will continue to live during the rest of our lives.

And so I am grateful to all of you for all that you have done.

I think that the ceremonies are now over, except for one very important addition that relates to the future. Under an Act of the Congress of the United States, there was appointed -- authorized to be appointed a Board of Trustees, who will be responsible for this Library from midnight tonight, through the years to come.

I am glad that you have come today, because as I suggested at lunch to some of the Trustees, this is the last chance you have got to see this Library free of charge. (laughter) At midnight tonight the Government of the United States takes over, and they take over through this Board of Trustees, of which Dr. Connor, the Archivist -- the National Archivist of the United States -- is to be the Chairman, and on which will serve ex officio our own neighbor from this County, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States -- Henry Morgenthau, Jr. (applause)

And incidentally, I have appointed a number of very old friends of mine to serve as additional Trustees: My old law partner, Basil O'Connor from New York (applause); and Frank Walker, who in addition to being a very old friend is also the man who carries your mail (laughter and applause); and Dr. Morison, an old sea-faring friend of mine. (laughter and applause)
And now let us see, who else is there? Oh, I asked him (Harry Hopkins) but he couldn't get here today. He was terribly sorry, but he said, quite frankly, that Long Island was cooler than Hyde Park. (laughter) Another old friend, whom you have seen here many times with me -- Harry Hopkins. (applause)

And so -- and so I am asking the first Federal Judge to be appointed from Dutchess County for I don't know how many generations, our old friend Eddie Conger of Poughkeepsie, (the President laughs) to step forward when I give out these -- I won't call them diplomas, but they look like diplomas -- to these new Trustees. I am going to ask Federal District Judge Conger to administer the Oath of Office.

(the Oath of Office was then administered to Basil O'Connor, Dr. Morison, and Frank C. Walker)

(the Benediction followed)

Now I hope you will all feel very welcome to come in and see the building and what is in it.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY,
HYDE PARK, NEW YORK
JULY 4, 1941

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

In 1776, on the fourth day of July, the Representatives of the several states in Congress assembled, declaring our independence, asserted that a decent respect for the opinion of mankind required that they should declare the reasons for their action. In this new crisis, we have a like duty.

In 1776 we waged war in behalf of the great principle that Government should derive its just powers from the consent of the governed. In other words, representation chosen in free elections. In the century and a half that followed, this cause of human freedom swept across the world.

But now, in our generation -- in the (last) past few years -- a new resistance, in the form of several new practices of tyranny, has been making such headway that the fundamentals of 1776 are being struck down abroad and definitely they are threatened here.

It is, indeed, a fallacy, based on no logic at all, for any Americans to suggest that the rule of force can defeat human freedom in all the other parts of the world and (allow) permit it to survive in the United States Alone. But it has been that childlike fantasy itself -- that misdirected faith -- which has led nation after nation to go about their peaceful tasks, relying on the thought, and even the promise, that they and their lives and their government would be allowed to live when the juggernaut of force came their way.

It is simple -- I could almost say simple-minded -- for us Americans to wave the flag, to reassert our belief in the cause of freedom -- and to let it go at that.

Yet, all of us who lie awake at night -- all of us who study and study again, know full well that in these days we cannot save freedom with pitchforks and muskets alone, after a dictator combination has gained control of the rest of the world.

We know (too) that we cannot save freedom in our own midst, in our own land, if all around us -- our neighbor nations -- have lost their freedom.

That is why we are engaged in a serious, in a mighty, in a unified action in the cause of the defense of the Hemisphere and the freedom of the seas. We need not the loyalty and unity alone, we need speed and efficiency and toil and an end to backbiting, (and) an end to the sabotage (which) that runs far deeper than the blowing up of munitions plants.

I tell the American people solemnly that the United States will never survive as a happy and (prosperous) fertile oasis of liberty (in the midst of a) surrounded by a cruel desert of dictatorship.

And so it is that when we repeat the great pledge to our country and to our flag, it must be our deep conviction that we pledge as well our work, our will and, if it be necessary, our very lives.

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INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO MEMBERS OF
THE VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION COMMITTEE
IN THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
JULY 24, 1941 -- 11.05 A.M., E.S.T.

THE PRESIDENT: (To Mayor LaGuardia) Are you going to be the -- what do they call it -- the Chamberlain, and do the introducing?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA: Yes.

(the President shakes hands with all Members)

THE PRESIDENT: (To Mayor LaGuardia) Are you going to say something?

MAYOR LA GUARDIA: No.

THE PRESIDENT: I think that's a good introduction of all of you. You have got an awful lot of work to do on these things. I haven't got any prepared speech, but I do feel very strongly that we must bring home certain things to every part of the country, and it has got to be done through civilian work. It has got to be done among civilians. Other things are pretty well organized -- production -- and the training program, but what we need is to get into the homes and families and make people realize certain facts.

The Mayor's work is really in two parts. The first is what I call quasi-military -- a thing like preparing sandbags; and they may be necessary in certain parts of the country, not necessarily all over. Air-raid alarms, and so forth and so on. That is only part of it that can be done very largely through the constituted authorities in the State governments, City and County governments, but beyond that it is your work, which is at least equally important -- more important.

People still in this country haven't got enough idea -- I was going to say the vaguest idea -- they have -- they are getting it -- but

they haven't got enough idea of what modern war means, unfortunately. And it isn't anybody's fault over here that modern war means something entirely different from what it used to be. It is a war between populations, and not between armies. That, I think, is something that the average home in this country has not yet got sufficiently through their heads.

We know what is happening in England today. We know the fact that the women in London -- mothers of families -- are just as important in the defense of Britain as one of the men on a destroyer, or some girl who is working in a munitions factory. They are all part of this population defense. And I think that we have a long, long ways to go in this country. We are going to get, through you, an organization in every community. We can't do it all from Washington. The responsibility, I think is yours by units -- the --. We took a unit -- that is a corps area -- and I am going to hold you responsible in these corps areas for what goes on, and I am not going to be put off by people who say, "Well, we couldn't find out about this from Washington." Or, "We don't know who has the jurisdiction." I don't care who has the jurisdiction. You have. In other words, if you have some problem of organization as to whose responsibility it is, and you can't find out whether it is being handled by this, that or the other agency within a State, or a corps area, or a community, I am not going to take that as an excuse. Go ahead and do the thing that you want to do, first; and talk about jurisdiction afterwards. (laughter) Good advice? (laughter)

And so I am looking for real results. Now, you may have some question about your relationship to State Councils of Defense, and local Councils of Defense. I am looking for results. I think they will work with you in almost every part of the country. I don't think you are going

to have any real trouble, any more than you are going to have sporadic cases of what might be called political trouble.

I don't know, but I have an idea that there are just about as many Republicans in this group as there are Democrats. I frankly -- I don't care, except for the fact that this has been a sufficiently good illustration that this is non-political. You have labor here. You have capital. You have negroes here. You have white people. You have got every cross-section of American life to represent it on this Committee.

And the question of politics. Somebody may start it. Don't bring it to me. You are Americans, and you don't belong to any party in this work.

And so I don't know that there is anything else I want to say, except that, quite frankly, I am looking for results from all of you. We will do the best we can. It is going to take a little while to get all the machinery working smoothly. You may have to change from one type of lubricating oil to another type of lubricating oil, but I am inclined to think that you don't want to make molehills -- mountains out of molehills.

What we want is to get this thing into every family in the United States. And, incidentally, there are a great many people who don't even belong to families, who are off by themselves -- individuals. We want you to go after those people and explain the real necessity and seriousness of this world situation.

Let me just give you an example which I got -- to use what they call 'off the record'. Some of these things you do -- well, anybody can work it out for themselves -- is to tell the people some things that they don't quite understand. There are lots of things that people don't quite

understand. You are an information bureau to all of them. And I will give you the example.

Here on the East Coast, you have been reading that the Secretary of the Interior is -- as Oil Administrator -- is faced with the problem of not enough gasoline to go around in the East Coast, and how he is asking everybody to curtail their consumption of gasoline. All right. Now, I am -- I might be called an American citizen, living in Hyde Park, N.Y. And I say, "That's a funny thing. Why am I asked to curtail my consumption of gasoline when I read in the papers that thousands of tons of gasoline are going out from Los Angeles -- West Coast -- to Japan; and we are helping Japan in what looks like an act of aggression?"

All right. Now the answer is a very simple one. There is a world war going on, and has been for some time -- nearly two years. One of our efforts, from the very beginning, was to prevent the spread of that world war in certain areas where it didn't -- it hadn't started. One of those areas is a place called the Pacific Ocean -- one of the largest areas of the earth. There happened to be a place in the South Pacific where we had to get a lot of things out of there -- rubber -- tin -- and so forth and so on, from down in the Dutch Indies, the Strait Settlements, and Indo-China. And we had to help get the Australian surplus of meat and wheat, and corn, for England.

And it was very essential, from our own selfish point of view of defense, to prevent a war from starting in the South Pacific. So our foreign policy was -- trying to stop a war from breaking out down there. At the same time, from the point of view of even France at that time -- of course France still had her head above water -- we wanted to keep that line of supplies from Australia to New Zealand going to the Near East -- all their

troops, all their supplies that they have maintained in Syria, North Africa and Palestine. So it was essential for Great Britain that we try to keep the peace down there.

All right. And now here is a nation called Japan. Whether they had at that time aggressive prospects to enlarge their empire south, they didn't have any oil of their own up in the north. Now, if we cut the oil off, they would have gone down to the Dutch East Indies a year ago, and you would have had war.

Therefore, there was -- you might call -- a method in our madness in letting this oil go to Japan, with the hope -- and it has worked for two years -- of keeping war out of the South Pacific, for our own good, for the good of the defense of Great Britain, and the Freedom of the Seas. Now it's just an illustration.

Now you people can help to make the average citizen who wouldn't hear of that, or doesn't read the papers carefully, or listen to the radio carefully -- get them to understand what some of these apparent anomalies mean. So, on the information end, I think you have got just as great a task as you have on the actual organization.

Now on this organization -- to come back to that for a minute -- it is perfectly amazing the number of letters which I get here in the White House -- and my wife in the White House -- from people -- men and women in every -- literally every County in the United States -- who are pleading to be told what they can do. They really honestly are -- they are ready to work.

And so my message to you is -- to act as starters of this "horse race".

MAYOR LA GUARDIA: Thank you, Mr. President. We will carry on.

THE PRESIDENT: Good luck to you. I wish I could sit in with you.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT A MEETING OF THE
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT HOME CLUB,
HYDE PARK, N. Y.,
AUGUST 30, 1941

MEMBERS OF THE HOME CLUB:

You know, I don't know whether I like being called a landlord. (laughter) I say this though, that if I have to be landlord, and if he has to be tenant, I would rather have Moses as a tenant than any man I have ever known. (applause) But just think of it -- he has not cut down the trees; he has not burned up the house; and the fields are in better condition than the day he came. And, incidentally, what is very, very important, from my point of view, all the time that Moses has been here, he has never given me a headache. (laughter)

I am awfully glad to see you all again, and it occurs to me that this is not the twelfth anniversary of the Club, so much in my mind at this moment, as the fact that it is the third meeting of ours since this world has been convulsed with all kinds of dangers, and they are not over yet; but it is very possible that they may be even more serious at this moment than they were at the end of August, and the beginning of September, 1939.

And yet, here we are, in this scene that is essentially a scene of peace, living almost normal lives. A scene that I suppose could be duplicated -- not the Home part of it -- not the Home Club part of it, but the fact of the gathering, the fact of the general picture of the countryside -- could probably be duplicated in 20,000 communities in the United States, on a million farms, with good roads going past them, just like this somewhat over-burdened road out there. In other words, it is a

natural, normal American scene of peace, and in a community we are mighty proud of, but always with the thought that there are tens of thousands of other communities, that the people living in them are equally proud of, where in any of the communities -- including our own -- if we think back -- what? -- fifty years -- I can do that -- some of you can too -- we look back and think of the changes that have occurred through peaceful processes in that half-century.

Think of the improvements, not merely the physical improvements, but the whole of the standard of life, the way it has improved in this past fifty years. Go back and think about things -- right in this town fifty years ago.

Coming over here, I stopped one minute to look at a very delightful little stone gatehouse for the new Library, with Mr. John McShain, who is giving it to the Library, and we were looking at stone walls. And it reminded me -- I told him of the fact -- when I was a boy, we were able to get plenty of people to re-lay a stone wall for a dollar a rod. You older people can remember that. And a man working pretty hard, not eight hours but ten hours a day, could lay one rod for one dollar, in one day. And I remember Henry Myers came down -- a lot of you remember him -- came down and complained to my father that for masons it had gotten to such a pass that he had to pay them two dollars a day!

Think of the condition of the roads in this country. I don't mean that our efficient Superintendent of Highways is referred to -- (laughter) -- but I mean fifty years ago. Well, there were certain periods of the year where it was almost worth your life to go out driving behind a pair of horses. Think of the old lamps in the houses. Think of all of the other things which are dead and gone now-a-days. Compare the life that

everybody lived fifty years ago with what it is today. Well, there are a great many physical objects. We are very proud of them. Some of them are quite new. Right up here to the north is a new high school. We are all mighty proud of them. A little ways south a new grade school, and in the village another grade school. In other words, there are still some people that think that the one-room, one-teacher, little individual schoolhouse gives the best education in the world. Well, it did once, when there wasn't any other kind. But I think all of us are happy in the fact that, in our town today, we have as good equipment for the education of our children as is possible to get anywhere in the United States.

So we have a great deal to be thankful for, including the fact that this is still a peaceful gathering -- the third time in succession.
(Applause)

I think all of us pray that next year that -- as Moses said -- we may have to move into the field to get enough room -- that we will still be able to say that. (Applause)

Yet, as you know, it isn't all in our keeping. It isn't all our decision. This morning I got a letter -- going to read it to you in a minute or two -- it's evidence of what very observing eyes have seen around this world of ours.

Now I would like very, very much to tell you a great many things, such as the -- the development of the airplane program, and the tank program, and the shipping program; to tell you about all of the details of our problems in the far waters of the Pacific; to tell you all kinds of details about those very wonderful days -- tremendously interesting days -- that I spent with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston Churchill.
(Applause) I would like to tell you all about those things.

But, here's my trouble: My hands are tied. The reason why my hands are tied is this: It's the press -- (laughter) -- this group of old and very good friends of mine, writing for papers, taking stills, grinding out movies, who travel with me all the time, day and night. And the reason that I went up to that distant spot in the Atlantic was to give them a rest.

And they went up, while people said I disappeared. Well, I suppose that's the newspaper way of saying it. It happens to be true; I did. They went up to a hotel in Swampscott, where there was good golf and boating, and everything else, expecting to get a holiday. And then some enterprising person in England discovered that the Prime Minister had gone; and furthermore discovered that their Chief of Staff had gone; and that the Chief of their Air Corps had gone; and the Chief Sea Lord of the Admiralty had gone; and somebody must have had real imagination -- real intelligence. They put those -- all those four fellows together, and they figured out that they had all gone! Disappeared! Well, they made a great to-do about it. Why should all these particular four people disappear like that? So they put something about it in the paper, and sent it in to Washington; and some terribly enterprising newspaper editors around the country began sending telegrams to the boys of mine up in Swampscott. "Where's the President?" "Well," they said, "he's on a boat." And then they sent another telegram back, "Very, very important, check and find the boat." Well, they couldn't. I was three hundred -- three hundred and twenty miles at sea at that moment. And then some enterprising newspaperman in Washington found that my Chief of Staff was gone, and the Chief of Naval Operations, and General Arnold of Aviation. They had gone too. And, By Jove, that shows the value and the brilliance of a free press. (Laughter) They not only put two and two together, but they put two more, and two more, until they added it up to eight.

And the poor fellows at Swampscott were being bombarded day and night with telegrams from Washington, "What about it?" They couldn't find me on the golf course; they couldn't find me any place near there; but they were kept up all day and all night, trying to find me -- in Swampscott.

So this week, I knew they had been working awfully hard -- they hadn't really had any holiday, and I told them yesterday down in Washington that there wouldn't be any news on Saturday afternoon from what I said to the Home Club. So you see how my hands are tied. I want to tell you all about the program; I want to tell you about Japan; I want to tell you about the meeting with Churchill; and I can't do it.

So I am hoping they will have time enough this afternoon to go down to Poughkeepsie and write the story and get back in time to have a picnic over there at the Val Kill Cottage, and that is why I am going to help them. I am going to help them to fill in the story that they have to send over the wire, by giving them something that is all prepared for them.
(laughter)

I think it will interest, you, incidentally. It is the letter I was telling you about. It happens to be from a woman, a woman who is an exceedingly good observer, and because of the occupation of her husband has been all over the world, in different posts -- the kind of a life that in the last fifteen or twenty years has allowed her to observe things in Europe and Asia and Africa and South America.

And she got back here the other day -- her children are in this country, of school age -- and her husband is still in foreign parts, very much on the job. And when she got back she sent me this letter. I think it explains a little bit what is going on from the point of view of a person who has seen it with her own eyes -- not somebody like the fellow that

Moses said bought the farm next door, but somebody who has seen things in this world at first-hand; who knows geography and knows other countries. And sometimes, you know, the judgment of people who see with their own eyes, and have the largest number of sources of information -- sometimes their judgment happens to be better than the judgment of people who don't have the same opportunity.

She writes that: (reading)

"I am at this Summer resort with my children whom I have not seen for many months. It is terrifying, coming from Europe, to realize that many of these people in their unruffled existence seem to have no idea of what hangs over their heads today. They put themselves in a posture where they cannot squawk about what they don't want to see. They go about their 'daily dozens'" --

which is a good phrase, applying not only to physical gymnastics, but I think mental gymnastics as well --

"ignoring the threatening heel of human beings who want to destroy the freedom -- the normal life -- to which they have been accustomed.

"They cannot see that the Hitlers of the world are waging war by exploiting social unrest, exploiting decent human progress by the use of armed power for their own aggrandizement.

"Having seen with my own eyes the cruel and ruthless sweep of the dictator armies through Europe in the first year of the war; having contact with the expansion of that sweep to Africa and Asia during the second year of the war -- and especially because personal, practical experience proves the point -- I know that world domination, including of necessity the Americas, is the definite planned purpose of the dictators.

"Finally, I want to say to you that in Europe or Africa or Asia there is not a nation of those who have suffered abuse whose people are not aware of what America stands for. They believe in America despite all the propaganda that is fed to them. They know they will never be exploited by America. They pray daily that America will save itself by helping greatly to defeat Hitlerism. They pray for this because it seems to them that that is the only way in which peoples everywhere can attain peace and live in peace."

(Applause)

I suppose that's the thought that we all have. John Mack ex-

pressed it; Moses Smith expressed it. We all feel it down deep in our hearts that we want to keep America so that in all the years to come, long after we have gone, long after there isn't any Home Club any more, somebody in this township -- perhaps on this lawn -- will be able to hold a party like this, just as we are doing it today, just as we hope we will all come back next year, and do it again. (Applause)

On such occasions we have had some "visiting fireman" with us. Last year it was Frank Walker, and I think on that occasion I announced his appointment as Postmaster General of the United States.

Well, Harry Hopkins -- Harry is a resident at Hyde Park. I don't have to introduce him. I am still trying to sell him a farm.

But we have got a very distinguished visitor with us. I might almost call him the Prime Minister of a part of America, a part of the United States. Mr. Munoz Marin is the President of the Senate of Puerto Rico. (Applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
LABOR DAY
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

On this day -- this American holiday -- we (celebrate) are
celebrating the rights of free laboring men and women.

The preservation of these rights is (now) vitally important
now, not only to us who enjoy them -- but to the whole future of Christian
civilization.

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the win-
ning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons
on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of (the)
this world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over
the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and develop-
ing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our
entire industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet
actually touched our (own) shores?

We are not a warlike people. (We have) We've never sought glory
as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not
interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one
square inch of the territory of any other nation.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose (which) that inspires
that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our funda-
mental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by Hitler's
violent attempt to rule the world.

These rights were established by our forefathers on the field

of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas all over the world.

(There has) There's never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- between all of us Americans: Interdependence of interests, privileges, opportunities, responsibilities -- interdependence of rights.

That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed that they could divide us and conquer us from within.

These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- a Navy gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia exist -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know also that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

These enemies know that our Army is increasing daily in its all-round strength.

These enemies know that today the chief American fighters in the

battles now raging are those engaged in American industry, employers and employees alike.

These enemies know that the course of American production in the past year has shown enormous gains and that the product of these industries is moving to the battle fronts -- the battle fronts against Hitlerism in increasing volume each day.

But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in (old) fields--old and new.

I give solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorship(s) has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor (has) had been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

Trade unionism is a forbidden philosophy under these rule or ruin dictators. For trade unionism demands full freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade unionism has helped to give to every one who toils the position of dignity which is his due.

The present position of labor in the United States as an inter-

dependent unit in the life of the nation has not come about by chance. It has been an evolutionary process of a healthy democracy at work.

Hitler has not worked that way. He will not -- he cannot work that way. Just as he denies all rights to individuals, he must deny all rights to groups -- groups of labor, (of) or business -- groups of learning, of the church. He has abolished trade unions as ruthlessly as he has persecuted religion.

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what Nazi domination of the world means than has organized labor -- what it means to their standard of living, their freedom -- their lives. No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazi-ism, in the preservation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy throughout the world.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine in no small part the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

Yes, we are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of insane violence have been let loose by Hitler upon this earth. We must do our full part in conquering them. For these forces may be unleashed on this nation as we go about our business of protecting the proper interests of our country.

The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even

ask me to negotiate with Hitler -- to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do, in fact, ask me to become the modern Benedict Arnold and betray all that I hold dear -- my devotion to our freedom -- to our churches -- to our country. This course I have rejected -- I reject it again.

Instead, I know that I speak the conscience and determination of the American people when I say that we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.

American workers, (and) American farmers, American businessmen, (and) American church(men) people -- all of us together -- have the great responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a democratic world on enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some future President of the United States that we did our work faithfully and well.

AS SPOKEN FOR THE NEWSREELS

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars. In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of the world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

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* * * * *

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force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST FROM THE WHITE HOUSE
September 11, 1941, 9:00 P. M., E. S. T.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

The Navy Department of the United States has reported to me that on the morning of September fourth the United States destroyer GREER, proceeding in full daylight towards Iceland, had reached a point southeast of Greenland. She was carrying American mail to Iceland. She was flying the American flag. Her identity as an American ship was unmistakable.

She was then and there attacked by a submarine. Germany admits that it was a German submarine. The submarine deliberately fired a torpedo at the GREER, followed later by another torpedo attack. In spite of what Hitler's propaganda Bureau has invented, and in spite of what any American obstructionist organization may prefer to believe, I tell you the blunt fact that the German submarine fired first upon this American destroyer without warning, and with deliberate design to sink her.

Our destroyer, at the time, was in waters which the Government of the United States had declared to be waters of self-defense -- surrounding outposts of American protection in the Atlantic.

In the North of the Atlantic, outposts have been established by us in Iceland, in Greenland, in Labrador and in Newfoundland. Through these waters there pass many ships of many flags. They bear food and other supplies to civilians; and they bear materiel of war, for which the people of the United States are spending billions of dollars, and which, by Congressional action, they have declared to be essential for the defense of (their) our own land.

The United States destroyer, when attacked, was proceeding on a

legitimate mission.

If the destroyer was visible to the submarine when the torpedo was fired, then the attack was a deliberate attempt by the Nazis to sink a clearly identified American warship. On the other hand, if the submarine was beneath the surface of the sea and, with the aid of its listening devices, fired in the direction of the sound of the American destroyer without even taking the trouble to learn its identity -- as the official German communique would indicate -- then the attack was even more outrageous. For it indicates a policy of indiscriminate violence against any vessel sailing the seas -- belligerent or non-belligerent.

This was piracy -- piracy legally and morally. It was not the first nor the last act of piracy which the Nazi Government has committed against the American flag in this war. For attack has followed attack.

A few months ago an American flag merchant ship, the ROBIN MOOR, was sunk by a Nazi submarine in the middle of the South Atlantic, under circumstances violating long-established international law and violating every principle of humanity. The passengers and the crew were forced into open boats hundreds of miles from land, in direct violation of international agreements signed by nearly all nations including the Government of Germany. No apology, no allegation of mistake, no offer of reparations has come from the Nazi Government.

In July, 1941, nearly two months ago an American battleship in North American waters was followed by a submarine which for a long time sought to maneuver itself into a position of attack upon the battleship. The periscope of the submarine was clearly seen. No British or American submarines were within hundreds of miles of this spot at the time, so the nationality of the submarine is clear.

Five days ago a United States Navy ship on patrol picked up three survivors of an American-owned ship operating under the flag of our sister Republic of Panama -- the S. S. SESSA. On August seventeenth, she had been first torpedoed without warning, and then shelled, near Greenland, while carrying civilian supplies to Iceland. It is feared that the other members of her crew have been drowned. In view of the established presence of German submarines in this vicinity, there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the flag of the attacker.

Five days ago, another United States merchant ship, the STEEL SEAFARER was sunk by a German aircraft in the Red Sea two hundred and twenty miles south of Suez. She was bound for an Egyptian port.

So four of the vessels sunk or attacked flew the American flag and were clearly identifiable. Two of these ships were warships of the American Navy. In the fifth case, the vessel sunk clearly carried the flag of our sister Republic of Panama.

In the face of all this, we Americans are keeping our feet on the ground. Our type of democratic civilization has outgrown the thought of feeling compelled to fight some other nation by reason of any single piratical attack on one of our ships. We are not becoming hysterical or losing our sense of proportion. Therefore, what I am thinking and saying tonight does not relate to any isolated episode.

Instead, we Americans are taking a long-range point of view in regard to certain fundamentals (and) -- a point of view in regard to a series of events on land and on sea which must be considered as a whole -- as a part of a world pattern.

It would be unworthy of a great nation to exaggerate an isolated incident, or to become inflamed by some one act of violence. But it would

be inexcusable folly to minimize such incidents in the face of evidence which makes it clear that the incident is not isolated, but is part of a general plan.

The important truth is that these acts of international lawlessness are a manifestation of a design (which) -- a design ^{that} has been made clear to the American people for a long time. It is the Nazi design to abolish the freedom of the seas, and to acquire absolute control and domination of (the) these seas for themselves.

For with control of the seas in their own hands, the way can obviously become clear for their next step -- domination of the United States (and the) -- domination of the Western Hemisphere by force of arms. Under Nazi control of the seas, no merchant ship of the United States or of any other American Republic would be free to carry on any peaceful commerce, except by the condescending grace of this foreign and tyrannical power. The Atlantic Ocean which has been, and which should always be, a free and friendly highway for us would then become a deadly menace to the commerce of the United States, to the coasts of the United States, and even to the inland cities of the United States.

The Hitler Government, in defiance of the laws of the sea, (and) in defiance of the recognized rights of all other nations, has presumed to declare, on paper, that great areas of the seas -- even including a vast expanse lying in the Western Hemisphere -- are to be closed, and that no ships may enter them for any purpose, except at peril of being sunk. Actually they are sinking ships at will and without warning in widely separated areas both within and far outside of these far-flung pretended zones.

This Nazi attempt to seize control of the oceans is but a counterpart of the Nazi plots now being carried on throughout the Western Hemisphere

-- all designed toward the same end. For Hitler's advance guards -- not only his avowed agents but also his dupes among us -- have sought to make ready for him footholds, (and) bridgeheads in the New World, to be used as soon as he has gained control of the oceans.

His intrigues, his plots, his machinations, his sabotage in this New World are all known to the Government of the United States. Conspiracy has followed conspiracy.

For example, last year a plot to seize the Government of Uruguay was smashed by the prompt action of that country, which was supported in full by her American neighbors. A like plot was then hatching in Argentina, and that government has carefully and wisely blocked it at every point. More recently, an endeavor was made to subvert the government of Bolivia. And within the past few weeks the discovery was made of secret air-landing fields in Colombia, within easy range of the Panama Canal. I could multiply instance(s) upon instance.

To be ultimately successful in world mastery, Hitler knows that he must get control of the seas. He must first destroy the bridge of ships which we are building across the Atlantic and over which we shall continue to roll the implements of war to help destroy him, (and) to destroy all his works in the end. He must wipe out our patrol on sea and in the air if he is to do it. He must silence the British Navy.

I think it must be explained (again and) over and over again to people who like to think of the United States Navy as an invincible protection, that this can be true only if the British Navy survives. And that, my friends, is simple arithmetic.

For if the world outside of the Americas falls under Axis domination, the shipbuilding facilities which the Axis powers would then possess

in all of Europe, in the British Isles, and in the Far East would be much greater than all the shipbuilding facilities and potentialities of all of the Americas -- not only greater, but two or three times greater, enough to win. Even if the United States threw all its resources into such a situation, seeking to double and even redouble the size of our Navy, the Axis powers, in control of the rest of the world, would have the man-power and the physical resources to outbuild us several times over.

It is time for all Americans, Americans of all the Americas to stop being deluded by the romantic notion that the Americas can go on living happily and peacefully in a Nazi-dominated world.

Generation after generation, America has battled for the general policy of the freedom of the seas. And that policy is a very simple one -- but a basic, a fundamental one. It means that no nation has the right to make the broad oceans of the world at great distances from the actual theatre of land war, unsafe for the commerce of others.

That has been our policy, proved time and (time) again, in all of our history.

Our policy has applied from (time immemorial) the earliest days of the Republic -- and still applies -- not merely to the Atlantic but to the Pacific and to all other oceans as well.

Unrestricted submarine warfare in 1941 constitutes a defiance -- an act of aggression -- against that historic American policy.

It is now clear that Hitler has begun his campaign to control the seas by ruthless force and by wiping out every vestige of international law, (and) every vestige of humanity.

His intention has been made clear. The American people can have no further illusions about it.

No tender whisperings of appeasers that Hitler is not interested in the Western Hemisphere, no soporific lullabies that a wide ocean protects us from him -- can long have any effect on the hard-headed, far-sighted and realistic American people.

Because of these episodes, because of the movements and operations of German warships, and because of the clear, repeated proof that the present government of Germany has no respect for treaties or for international law, that it has no decent attitude toward neutral nations or human life -- we Americans are now face to face not with abstract theories but with cruel, relentless facts.

This attack on the GREER was no localized military operation in the North Atlantic. This was no mere episode in a struggle between two nations. This was one determined step towards creating a permanent world system based on force, on terror and on murder.

And I am sure that even now the Nazis are waiting, waiting to see whether the United States will by silence give them the green light to go ahead on this path of destruction.

The Nazi danger to our western world has long ceased to be a mere possibility. The danger is here now -- not only from a military enemy but from an enemy of all law, all liberty, all morality, all religion.

There has now come a time when you and I must see the cold inexorable necessity of saying to these inhuman, unrestrained seekers of world conquest and permanent world domination by the sword: "You seek to throw our children and our children's children into your form of terrorism and slavery. You have now attacked our own safety. You shall go no further".

Normal practices of diplomacy -- note writing -- are of no possible use in dealing with international outlaws who sink our ships and kill our citizens.

One peaceful nation after another has met disaster because each refused to look the Nazi danger squarely in the eye until it had actually had them by the throat.

The United States will not make that fatal mistake.

No act of violence, (or) no act of intimidation will keep us from maintaining intact two bulwarks of American defense: First, our line of supply of materiel to the enemies of Hitler; and second, the freedom of our shipping on the high seas.

No matter what it takes, no matter what it costs, we will keep open the line of legitimate commerce in these defensive water of ours.

We have sought no shooting war with Hitler. We do not seek it now. But neither do we want peace so much, that we are willing to pay for it by permitting him to attack our naval and merchant ships while they are on legitimate business.

I assume that the German leaders are not deeply concerned, to-night or any other time, by what we Americans or the American Government say or publish about them. We cannot bring about the downfall of Nazi-ism by the use of long-range invective.

But when you see a rattlesnake poised to strike, you do not wait until he has struck before you crush him.

These Nazi submarines and raiders are the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic. They are a menace to the free pathways of the high seas. They are a challenge to our own sovereignty. They hammer at our most precious rights when they attack ships of the American flag -- symbols of our independence, our freedom, our very life.

It is clear to all Americans that the time has come when the Americas themselves must now be defended. A continuation of attacks in our

own waters, or in waters (which) that could be used for further and greater attacks on us, will inevitably weaken our American ability to repel Hitlerism.

Do not let us (split hairs) be hair-splitters. Let us not ask ourselves whether the Americans should begin to defend themselves after the (fifth) first attack, or the (tenth) fifth attack, or the tenth attack, or the twentieth attack.

The time for active defense is now.

Do not let us split hairs. Let us not say: "We will only defend ourselves if the torpedo succeeds in getting home, or if the crew and the passengers are drowned".

This is the time for prevention of attack.

If submarines or raiders attack in distant waters, they can attack equally well within sight of our own shores. Their very presence in any waters which America deems vital to its defense constitutes an attack.

In the waters which we deem necessary for our defense, American naval vessels and American planes will no longer wait until Axis submarines lurking under the water, or Axis raiders on the surface of the sea, strike their deadly blow -- first.

Upon our naval and air patrol -- now operating in large number over a vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean -- falls the duty of maintaining the American policy of freedom of the seas -- now. That means, very simply, (and) very clearly, that our patrolling vessels and planes will protect all merchant ships -- not only American ships but ships of any flag -- engaged in commerce in our defensive waters. They will protect them from submarines; they will protect them from surface raiders.

This situation is not new. The second President of the United States, John Adams, ordered the United States Navy to clean out European

privateers and European ships of war which were infesting the Caribbean and South American waters, destroying American commerce.

The third President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, ordered the United States Navy to end the attacks being made upon American and other ships by the corsairs of the nations of North Africa.

My obligation as President is historic; it is clear. Yes, it is inescapable.

It is no act of war on our part when we decide to protect the seas (which) that are vital to American defense. The aggression is not ours. Ours is solely defense.

But let this warning be clear. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters, the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they do so at their own peril.

The orders which I have given as Commander-in-Chief (to) of the United States Army and Navy are to carry out that policy -- at once.

The sole responsibility rests upon Germany. There will be no shooting unless Germany continues to seek it.

That is my obvious duty in this crisis. That is the clear right of this sovereign nation. (That) This is the only step possible, if we would keep tight the wall of defense which we are pledged to maintain around this Western Hemisphere.

I have no illusions about the gravity of this step. I have not taken it hurriedly or lightly. It is the result of months and months of constant thought and anxiety and prayer. In the protection of your nation and mine it cannot be avoided.

The American people have faced other grave crises in their history -- with American courage, (and) with American resolution. They will do no less today.

They know the actualities of the attacks upon us. They know the necessities of a bold defense against these attacks. They know that the times call for clear heads and fearless hearts.

And with that inner strength that comes to a free people conscious of their duty, (and) conscious of the righteousness of what they do, they will -- with Divine help and guidance -- stand their ground against this latest assault upon their democracy, their sovereignty, and their freedom.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
IN CONNECTION WITH THE
1941 COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN NEEDS,
BROADCAST OVER THE RADIO
At 10:51 P.M., E.S.T., October 3, 1941.

MR. SMITH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Once more I am making a straightforward, simple appeal to the people of our country to support a great annual event -- the Community Mobilization for Human Needs. (Most) Many of you do not recognize this name but it represents the tying together of hundreds of local community efforts known as "community chests" or "community funds" or "welfare drives." These represent consolidations of many thousands of local charities run by churches, social welfare organizations, health associations and many others.

The American people have given generously in the past -- very generously.

But this year I hope the American people will give more than ever (before).

That is because, in a great world threat to our future, we must, for ourselves and our country, preserve and make secure our values and the strength of our institutions.

It is true that (more) many people are at work in our land today than ever before. It is true that our national income is rising. But it is still true that millions of our fellow citizens are still undernourished, ill clad and poorly housed. And bad health maims too many of our American households.

We must build up, not merely our Army and our Navy, but we must build up the well-being of our civilian population.

In past years we have done this through a great humanitarian revival. This year we must do it for the added reason that adequate national defense definitely needs it.

Once more I point out to you that the Federal Government cannot and ought not to try to cover the whole field of social service. Private agencies in every locality are essential not only for the good of the sick and the children and the mothers and the poor but they are of the utmost importance in instilling charity, (or) in other words, instilling a greater love of our fellow beings in the hearts of all of us as individuals.

We can afford to be better neighbors to our neighbors. We can afford to give support to those noble men and women whose lives are devoted to the help of their fellows.

It would be a calamity for the nation and for its future if private charity did not exist and grow. That is why I am asking each and every (individual) person in every town and village and on every farm to contribute something, large or small, toward this great and proven service. You will be helping to build a stronger and a better America. When I have said that, I have said all that is necessary for it is a spiritual as well as a practical appeal to the better natures of my fellow citizens.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
On October 22, 1941, 11.30 A.M., to
The British Management-Labor Mission,
Held in the Executive Office of the President,
And attended by Lord Halifax, British Ambassador

THE PRESIDENT: Have you had a good trip?

DELEGATION MEMBER: Very good, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Fine. I saw some of the things you said, and I am quite pleased at the way our production is going on. You know, I wish I could keep you all here to straighten out some of our troubles, and have you act as an impartial board of mediation or arbitration, or something of that kind.

DELEGATION MEMBER: You have too high an opinion of us, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. There are lots of things you would do well, because you would appear as really impartial people that have never been connected with one side or the other. In other words, you have no prejudice against the Federation, nor against John Lewis. (laughter)

Well, of course, as you know, I have been with the trade unionists -- we don't call it that -- but I have been with them for fifteen -- thirty some years. And I always remember the story that I use sometimes in campaign speeches.

Senator Wagner and I were both in the State Senate in 1910 -- 1911, and we introduced a bill, and were promptly labeled Communists. I think it was Nihilists, as they called them then.

DELEGATION MEMBER: (interposing) Anarchists.

THE PRESIDENT: An anarchist -- literally. And the bill was considered so violently radical that we were just tagged for all time. It was a bill to limit the hours of women and children in industry to 54 hours

a week. (laughter) Just think of that!

DELEGATION MEMBER: Have you lived that down?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

DELEGATION MEMBER: Have you lived that down?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Never. We sent another bill I got through -- the "One Day Rest in Seven" bill, for the State of New York. And in order to get it through I had to compromise. I had to make an exception here and an exception there. The result was that in organized labor I had to exempt and except about half the people from my own bill.

Now again we are making progress. I don't think there is any question but that when the war is over, and you good people win it -- with a little help from us -- the old system will not come back the way it was before. We will certainly make no loss out of it. We will probably achieve a good many gains out of it, as I see it. It is going to be a better system all the way through.

DELEGATION MEMBER: Nobody makes anything out of war.

DELEGATION MEMBER: We are going to make something out of this one, sir.

We are going to make better conditions for our people.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. Of course, I do wish that we could straighten out some of our jurisdictional troubles. We have always had them. And even with the Federation, as you know, we haven't eliminated them altogether. The size of our country is one thing, and you have certain geographical problems, even in Great Britain. Ours, of course, are multiplied ten times -- three thousand miles across country, two thousand miles north and south -- with its different living conditions, climate, and things like that. But I think the big gain that we have made over the last eight or nine years has been the breaking down of

sectional lines. Did you get South at all?

DELEGATION MEMBER: No.

THE PRESIDENT: I wish you had, because that is such an entirely different problem.

I have a place down South, for infantile paralysis. The whole standard is so entirely different. The first year I went down there, for instance, I discovered that the teachers in the local schools were getting two hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars a year. In the North they were getting twelve to fifteen hundred dollars a year. In the North they required some kind of training. In the South they were lucky if they had a grade school education. And when it came to a first-class white carpenter down there, he would be glad to take two and a half dollars a day, which was above the standard. He was lucky. He was a millionaire. In our village, he would be a millionaire if he had two hundred and fifty dollars a year. All through the South today, we are beginning to educate them to the idea that if they would raise the scale of wages down there, it will automatically help them, because they can buy more things from the North, and they can make more of their own things down there. So that in these years we couldn't have done all we have done, even in the last two years, unless we had centralized it from all over the country. We say we are going places. We haven't got there yet.

DELEGATION MEMBER: On the way.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. I wish you would give me your own thoughts on one thing. There has been a question which has arisen from time to time, as to whether we should ask some of our labor leaders to come over to England. We think we ought to.

DELEGATION MEMBER: We too. If they could do the same as we have done here, it would be to their advantage, unquestionably.

THE PRESIDENT: Because some people have said Yes, and some have said No.

DELEGATION MEMBER: We all say Yes. We all say Yes. We also have a British Trades Union Congress, and we all agreed we had to come over here. And we would welcome your delegation, and we would take care of them and show them everything.

THE PRESIDENT: Now, of course, they are all very good friends of mine.

Dan Tobin, of course he's a grand person. Dan's splendid. Some of you know him?

DELEGATION MEMBER: We know him.

THE PRESIDENT: And I could get some first-class people -- not many -- from the Federation. That is easy. But it raises the other question: Should I ask some of the C.I.O. people to go too?

DELEGATION MEMBER: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, some of them are very, very good friends of mine. You take Phil Murray. He's a friend -- a personal friend of mine. Or John Lewis. He is known to be out of joint with me, but that's just too bad.

DELEGATION MEMBER: We are trade unionists. We don't ask any questions about their denomination or religion. They are all perfectly welcome, and we will do all we can to help them, and perhaps by then help to ease the friction a little.

DELEGATION MEMBER: It would be a serious mistake if the C.I.O. were not invited, and let the newspapers complain.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but it wouldn't hurt you trade unionists?

DELEGATION MEMBER: No. We are here as labor representatives, and we have

got no dividing line. We would respectfully suggest that a delegation be sent, and would be very glad to have them and do everything possible for them.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. As you know, when the C.I.O. was first started, I had to be very favorable to them, because the old line -- A.F.L. -- had done very little to organize very large groups of workers, like the Southern Textile people in the cotton mills. Well, the A.F.L. did not want change. They had never done it. They didn't want to take on something new. So that really was the principal cause of the organization of the C.I.O., to go after these very large groups of workers, the Federation doing nothing about it. And it did good, to get the textile industry in the South on a much better basis than it was before. Well, I am going to talk about them some more.

(a short discussion followed revolving around a Mr. Kennedy representing British mine workers in 1929)

THE PRESIDENT: I remember the awful time I had in 1918. I was in the Navy Department at the time, and the Military Affairs Committee of the Lower House -- 21 members, and the Naval Affairs Committee of 21, decided they wanted to go to England at the same time. So they landed 42 of them in your laps. I must say that they gave you all a headache looking after these 42 people.

DELEGATION MEMBER: I had one of them.

DELEGATION MEMBER: Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: It's good to see you.

(the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, then presented the President with a film, entitled: "A Film of The Visit of Their Majesties, The King and Queen, to Kingston-Upon-Hull", August 5, 1941, giving him a verbal outline of what it contained. The President said he was awfully glad to have it, and would run it off tonight).

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the Mayflower Hotel,
On the Occasion of a Dinner
In Celebration of "Navy and Total Defense Day"
October 27, 1941, 10:00 P.M.

COLONEL DONOVAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency.

And since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy are temporarily in Iceland in the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Hitler has attacked shipping in areas close to the Americas (throughout the) in the North and South Atlantic.

Many American-owned (merchant) ships have been sunk on the high seas. One American destroyer was attacked on September fourth. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on October seventeenth. Eleven brave and loyal men of our Navy were killed by the Nazis.

We have wished to avoid shooting. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot. (Applause)

America has been attacked. The U.S.S. KEARNY is not just a Navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in this nation.

Illinois, Alabama, California, North Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arkansas, New York, and Virginia -- those are the home states of the honored dead and wounded of the KEARNY. Hitler's torpedo was directed at every American, whether he lives on our (sea) coasts or in the innermost part of the (nation) country, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.